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m. F. Buckley Jr. on
ssinger and the Right
—see page 1036

NATIONAL REVIEW

Some Superstitions of isarmament Talk

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EUGENE V. ROSTOW

ALSO: Vic Gold on Seymour Hersh • David Evanier on John Simon • Ralph de Toledano on Taiwan • Plus Wm. F. Rickenbacker • John Saxon • Adam B. Ulam • Jeffrey Meyers • Nika Hazelton

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AUGUST 19, 1983
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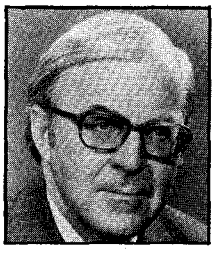

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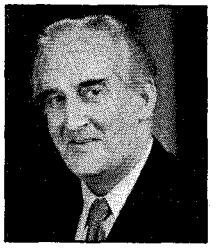

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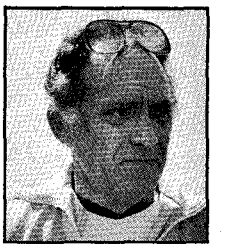

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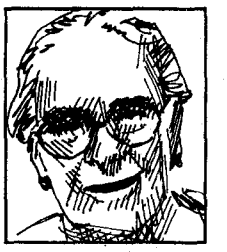

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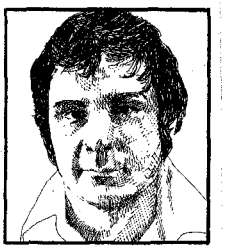

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The Cover

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The subject is clouded by the delusions of liberals, and complicated by the intransigence of the Soviet Union. Yet Soviet agreement is a necessary element in any solution to the inflation of nuclear arsenals. A former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for the Reagan Administration suggests five guidelines for securing our goals without surrendering our national security.
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In three decades, a small, backward, suddenly over-populated island has developed into one of the wonders of the economic world. More wondrous still—the central government knows when to get out of the picture. *Ralph de Toledano*

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1016 **Save Our Mathematics!**
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A series of articles in *The Public Interest* examines the plight of street and bag people, and the (related) plight of our social-service ideology.
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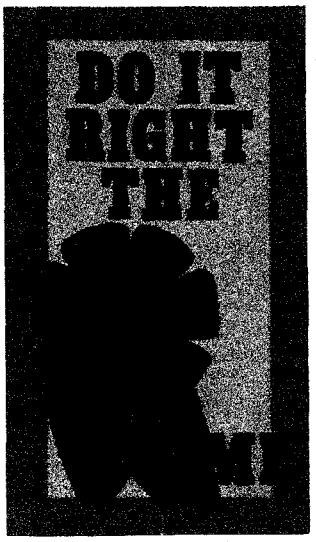

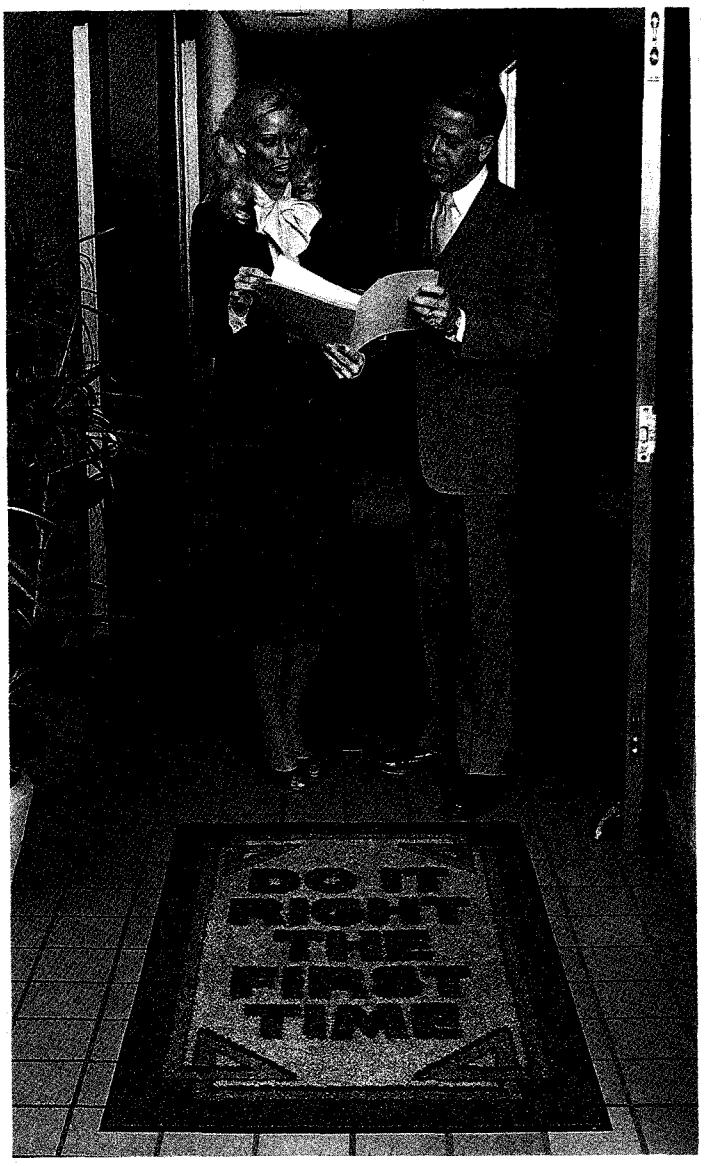

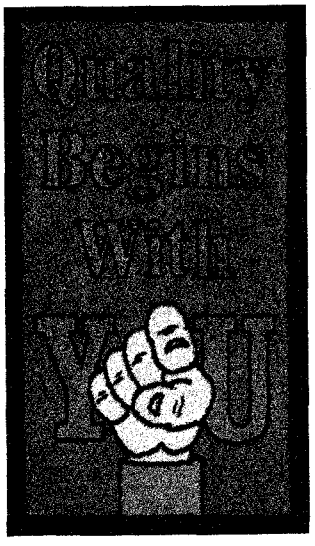

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Letters

What's Watt?

Nancy Shute's article on the environmental lobbies ["The Greening of James Watt," Aug. 5] provides a cynical look behind their back-to-nature rhetoric. It is clear that the Reagan Administration has a dangerous political adversary in the "Green Lobby." But what Miss Shute fails to address is whether the criticism of the Sierra Club, et al., is justified. I know that's not the story she set out to tell, but I would think NATIONAL REVIEW readers would appreciate an appraisal of how well, or badly, the Reagan Administration is doing environmentally, perhaps written by someone like James Jackson Kilpatrick.

By the way, the cover—James Watt trussed up on top of a Sierra Club camper—was one of your best in ages.

Marilyn Simon
Hartford, Conn.

Mondale's 'Mao'

Richard Brookhiser's excellent piece on former Vice President Walter Mondale ["On from Liberalism," July 22] includes a partial quotation of a remark Mr. Mondale made to me last September, comparing President Reagan to Mao Tse-tung. I think your readers might be interested in seeing the entire quotation:

"Ronald Reagan is not a conservative. He's a radical. He's like Mao Tse-tung. He wants to create an irreversible revolution in this country that will survive after he leaves power. He wants to leave us with deficits so large that we'll have to crush all our social programs—Social Security, health, aid to education—and remake the country in his image."

Mr. Brookhiser's article, while critical of Mr. Mondale's philosophy, clearly tried to be fair to him. I think fairness further requires that it be made clear that Mr. Mondale's reference to Mao Tse-tung was not a gratuitous insult. It was an analogy to illustrate what Mr. Reagan's senior advisors freely admit: They want the President's principles to live on after him, and the way to do that is to choke off the amount of tax money Congress has at its disposal.

Lars-Erik Nelson
Washington, D.C.

On Immigration

In the July 8 issue of *NR*, Tom Bethell, in his column "Immigration and the Economy," claims that "there is very good evidence that immigrants do not so much take jobs as create them." Perhaps he can explain why these immigrants failed to create jobs in their native countries.

While I very much sympathize with those living in unemployment and poverty in Latin America and elsewhere, the flow of immigrants could be virtually limitless unless strong steps are taken to stop it. Mr. Bethell points out that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been denied adequate resources to enforce immigration laws. Unless we can overcome liberal propaganda and recognize the legitimacy of controlling our borders, the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, and all other bills pertaining to immigration, will amount to nothing but so much paper and ink.

John L. Lyon
Glendale, Ariz.

After reading "Immigration and the Economy" I understand the importance of a decision to slow immigration. I'm a foreign student, and from my country, Dominican Republic, thousands of people immigrate every year to the U.S.A.

They think that here they will find the opportunity to change their lives. To them, this country is "the promised land."

I know that making a decision is difficult, because if you do not do anything about the flood of people coming to America, a crisis can result. But, if you take drastic measures, like stopping immigration without any kind of consideration for all those people who have seen or see in America their prosperity, the U.S.A.'s image will decline.

I hope that you find the correct solution, which will preserve your country as the symbol of a miniature united world, with open arms for everybody.

Alexandra Sánchez
Northfield, Mass.

No Laughing Matter

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's powerful Templeton Address [July 22] enunciated with characteristic boldness some stinging truths, perhaps chief among them that "Today's world has reached a stage that, if it had been described to preceding centuries, would have called forth the cry: 'This is the Apocalypse.'" If, that is, the description would have even been comprehended by the "unsophisticated" men of earlier times, something I very much question.

Yet it is not that this age is distinguished by its godlessness. This is a godless age, but not the most godless; this is not a virtuous age, but neither is it the most vicious. The distinguishing character of our time, what truly separates it from all that preceded it, is unseriousness, pervading, unremitting, laughing, biting unseriousness. True, "men have forgotten

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God." But they have also forgotten everything else that godless men could and once did worship; the only serious worship today is of the intrinsically unserious.

Hence Solzhenitsyn's central observation: "The concepts of good and evil have been ridiculed for several centuries; banished from common use, they have been replaced by political or class considerations of short-lived value. It has become embarrassing to appeal to eternal concepts . . ." Ridiculed? Why? Because that which is so overwhelmingly serious causes intolerable discomfort in an unserious age; it casts a pall over the dream and a shadow over the laughter. Embarrassing? Why? Because it is a reminder of work and works in a time of play and plays.

A serious outlook, I will be the first to grant, cannot be long maintained without something transcendent—something we did not make and cannot control—in which it can be forever anchored. Yet the service of God is denied to a world of unserious men and women. The little child's blind faith will not come to us sophisticates. We must grow up first.

Joseph S. Fulda
New York, N.Y.

The speech by Solzhenitsyn upon receiving the Templeton Prize was as usual profound, disturbing, and on the mark. However, there is one statement he made that should not go unchallenged.

Solzhenitsyn decried the West's preoccupation with "the pursuit of happiness." He even chided our Founding Fathers for using this phrase.

The pursuit of happiness is a legitimate endeavor of mankind. Aquinas calls happiness "the proper good of the intellectual nature." Indeed, he holds that the happiness we pursue here on earth is but a dim reflection of the perfect happiness awaiting us in the next world, when we contemplate God in the Beatific Vision. It is man's natural inclination and destiny.

I believe that what Solzhenitsyn had in mind was the modern age's blind, mindless pursuit of ephemeral pleasure, much of it illicit. With this I would agree.

Archie Salerno
Florham Park, N.J.

Free Will

With the spotlight for a moment on George Will's intimacy with the Reagan camp ["On the Right," Aug. 5], Walter Lippmann's warning comes to mind: "The most important forms of corruption in the modern journalist's world are the many guises and disguises of social climbing on the pyramids of power." Of course Lippmann, who virtually created the role of political columnist, enjoyed living on the upper slopes of power and would use his status to give a nudge to public affairs. Not only did he get the chance to add finishing touches to JFK's inaugural speech, he went on to praise the address in his column as a "remarkable piece of self-expression." This may seem an instance of collusion, but the Lippmann example suggests a different lesson. While he was aggressively wooed by LBJ and supported Johnson's policies in Vietnam, he retained his skepticism. In time, he became a powerful critic of LBJ's prosecution of the war, and the personal connections that had given him favored status made this break with the White House extremely bitter. In short, Lippmann remained his own man and a writer worth reading. Surely this is the relevant criterion for Will, too: not the nature of his associations, or even of his endorsements, but whether his observations of political life spring from a mind that has something of its own to say.

David Heim
New Haven, Conn.

Really Right

Thanks to Lincoln Oliphant ["Toward a New ERA?" June 24] for brilliantly elucidating what so many people subconsciously feel about the 1972 ERA, but are unable to transform into a credible argument. The simple fact is that there is a difference between sameness and equality, and any amendment that denies the difference is logically faulty from the start and could have many unwanted implications in the future.

I have had much difficulty explaining to feminists how I could possibly be for the ER but against the A portion of the ERA. Many seem unaware of how great a leap it is from a legislative guarantee of equal rights to an amendment such as the one proposed in 1972 that could eliminate all distinctions, from a legal standpoint, between the sexes. By explaining how the specific wording of the current amendment creates a chasm between ER and ERA, and by recommending viable alternatives to the current wording, Oliphant himself took a great leap—in the direction of good sense.

William F. Dunbar
Charlotte, N.C.

No Security

In the last paragraph of his review of Peter J. Ferrara's *Social Security Reform: The Family Plan* ["The Right Books," July 8], Mr. Chilton Williamson Jr. adds two of his own recommendations.

I fully agree with the first one: to

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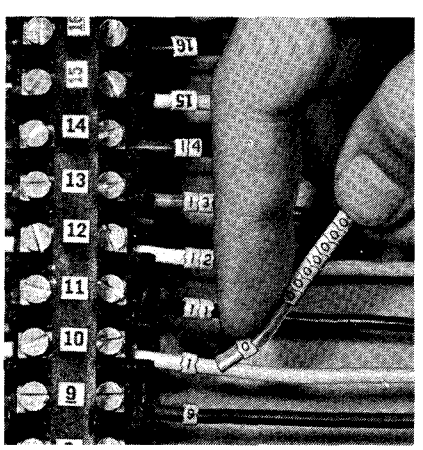

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place all the indigent elderly under the general welfare system. As a matter of fact, one may wonder why nobody so far has brought suit to have such special welfare provisions for the elderly as Supplemental Security Income declared unconstitutional because of their inherent "age discrimination." One could extend this thinking to other benefits and privileges extended to senior citizens and ask why not free library cards for people between 45 and fifty, or any other age group. And on and on.

Mr. Williamson's second proposition would present every American, upon attaining his majority, with the option of signing a voucher releasing the government from all financial obligations in his senior years (presumably thereby releasing him from the obligation to contribute to the Social Security program). A neat technical question arises: Would that release also apply to the employer and excuse him from paying the FICA tax? Seriously, however, the idea will not work in our society. You can bet that huge numbers of irresponsible people will sign out of the system and let the devil take the hindmost. Then, when they have blown it all, when they are old, poor, and sick, they know full well that our "social fairness" won't let them go under, that there will always be a safety net—for the unworthy as well as for the worthy. And it will be paid for by everybody except the improvident who had opted out of the system in the first place.

Ernest T. Thiersch
Deltona, Fla.

Property and Theft

Professor North seems to pull his punches ["Private Property and the American Way," July 8]. Why not use the word *theft* whenever property is seized from its rightful owners?

Except for gifts, there are essentially just two ways to acquire property: work for it, or take it away from those who have worked. And among those who choose theft, the smartest will always recognize that, if a government claims monopoly over the legalized use of force, then government represents an incomparable opportunity for them. It must be both safer and more profitable for thieves to fleece an entire population with the active help of government's coercive apparatus, than to attempt small-scale and illegal robberies on their own.

It follows, logically, that in all lands and in all centuries, capturing government (regardless of its particular form at the time) is the number-one priority of smart thieves. Our Founding Fathers, who understood the logic and history of theft by political means, took precautions on our behalf; nowhere does our Constitution explicitly give government a

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monopoly over the essential service of defending private property.

The use of political means to transfer wealth upward, downward, or sideways is a violation of genuine human rights because the fundamental human right (from which all other true rights derive) is the right of every peaceable individual to hold himself and his property free from human coercion, unless he forfeits that right by initiating coercion against some other peaceable person or his property. Since each individual owns himself, human rights really consist of private-property rights.

John W. Gofman, MD
Egan O'Connor
San Francisco, Calif.

Lion through His Teeth

Mr. Joe Mysak, always a splendid reviewer, was remarkably illuminating in his review of William Manchester's *The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill—Visions of Glory, 1874-1932* [July 8]. Like him and Russell Baker, I found *The Last Lion* riveting reading.

Nonetheless, when Mr. Mysak writes that "Mr. Manchester . . . has a keen eye for fact"—well, one is moved to blink, at least a little. Mr. Mysak doesn't mention it, but Mr. Manchester makes much of the assertion that Lord Randolph Churchill (Winston's father) suffered from syphilis. Indeed, the reviewers of *The Last Lion* for the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Time* all accepted the syphilis claim as fact. But did Lord Randolph really have syphilis? And if so, how does Mr. Manchester know it? Does Mr. Manchester have medical data documenting Lord Randolph's syphilis?

To clear up this charge one can call on Lord Randolph's distinguished biographer, Robert Rhodes James. This Conservative member of Parliament wrote only recently in the *Financial Times* (April 30, 1983): "The claim that Lord Randolph contracted syphilis at Oxford stems from an allegation of the famous liar Frank Harris, based on what he claimed to be a conversation with Lord Randolph's former political ally, Louis Jennings. Even if Jennings made the allegation—and anyone who relies upon the testimony of Frank Harris is in sore straits—it was done so after he and Lord Randolph had bitterly separated. . . . I have always strongly doubted whether Lord Randolph's decline and early death was the result of syphilis. A far more probable cause was a brain tumor."

Mr. Manchester, exciting expositionist that he is, hardly needs to embellish the factual circumstances surrounding the life of the most alluring figure in twentieth-century history—Winston Spencer Churchill.

James Collins
Washington, D.C.

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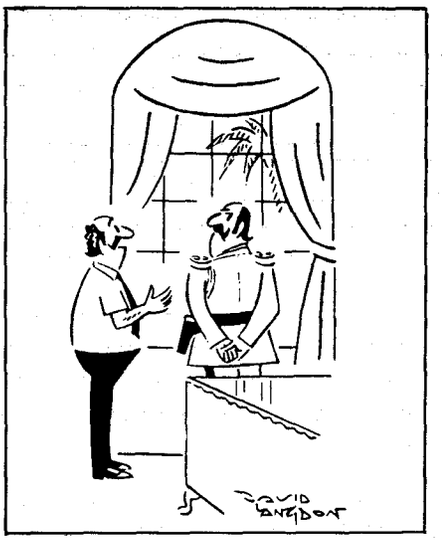
FOR THE RECORD

■ While Democratic governors met in Portland, Maine, last week to see what they could get out of Feds, most political reporters were there to test standing of Democratic presidential hopefuls. **David Broder**, *Washington Post*'s ace political reporter, found marked interest in **John Glenn**, particularly among governors from South, Midwest, and West. Said Gov. **Bruce Babbitt** (Ariz.): "[We are] searching to see if a centrist candidate emerges who can be a credible alternative to **Mondale**." **George Wallace** (Ala.) took the up-and-coming line among Democratic pros about Glenn: "He has the same kind of image as **Eisenhower** did." (**Tip O'Neill**, a fortnight earlier: "Make no mistake about it: Glenn is our Ike.") . . . **Evans & Novak** found governors critical of Mondale pitch to every special interest in the land (barring big business); they particularly resent his veiled threat that if elected he would use his presidential powers to coerce states that don't go ERA. . . . The guys, say E&N, are plenty scared of **Ronald Reagan.** For instance, Gov. **James Blanchard** (Mich.) said that blue-collar workers, including Detroit auto workers, "tend to like Reagan for a strange reason. Reagan has made government the scapegoat and that's being accepted." . . . On which note an interesting Gallup poll shows 51 per cent of the people think big government is the greatest threat to the nation, as against 19 per cent who fear big business most, and 18 per cent who fear big labor most. (Before **Lyndon Johnson**'s Great Society, only 14 per cent feared big government most.) . . . For the record, all four Democratic presidential candidates in the Senate—Glenn, **Cranston**, **Hart**, and **Hollings**—voted against MX funding; Hollings and Glenn voted for resumption of nerve-gas production; the other two did not.



Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"But, General, if we do let the world's banking system collapse, bang goes everything we've managed to salt away abroad."

■ Democratic political analyst **Alan Baron** has come up with interesting reason why Democratic Party pros haven't made more of Debategate. It's because, he says, the public perceives the Reagan White House as very different from the **Nixon** White House. Reagan, they feel, a) would not have been informed of any wrongdoing and b) is honest enough to disapprove of any that would have come to his attention. Even before Watergate "**Haldeman** and **Ehrlichman** hardly had 'nice guy' images." . . . Meanwhile, last Gallup shows Reagan with higher approval rating (47 per cent) than at any other time since Feb. 1982. . . . According to **Lou Cannon**, the *Washington Post*'s man on the Reagan beat, Reagan's regional directors for the upcoming campaign have already been chosen: former Rep. **John Rousselot**, Far West; **Rich Shelby**, Southwest; **Lou Kitchin**, South; **Paul Manafort**, Midwest; **Roger Stone**, East. . . . Administration won minivictory in Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week when it put off debate and vote on nuclear freeze until September, after Sen. **Larry Pressler** (R., S.D.) switched following receipt of letter from National Security Advisor **William P. Clark**. . . . Larger victory for President's men on the Hill, including newly reappointed chairman of the Fed, **Paul Volcker**, was narrow passage by House (217 to 211) of White House-backed International Monetary Fund assessment of $8.4 billion. Among sweeteners sponsors of IMF funding had to accept was amendment barring IMF loans to Communist dictatorships, including Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, and Poland.

■ Right and Left: **Howard Phillips**, of Conservative Caucus, has set up Citizens Commission on the Crisis in the Americas to monitor **Kissinger** commission. Temporary chairman: **James R. Whelan**, editor, *Washington Times*. Other members include: former CIA deputy director **Ray Cline**, Sen. **Steve Symms** (Idaho). . . . Coming up this fall on PBS, *The State against the Blacks*, a one-hour show based on book by black conservative economist **Walter Williams**. . . . And the USSR has revoked visa of *NR* contributor **Arnold Beichman**—headed to Russia on a journalists' tour—presumably after learning that he is the co-author of *Andropov: New Challenge to the West* (see review, p. 1022).

■ The Federal Election Commission has formally certified the Committee to Make El Salvador the 51st State, at request of Democratic presidential candidate **Richard Grayson**, who points out that when El Salvador won its independence from Spain it asked Congress to include it in the Union. Congress (ever short-sighted) refused.

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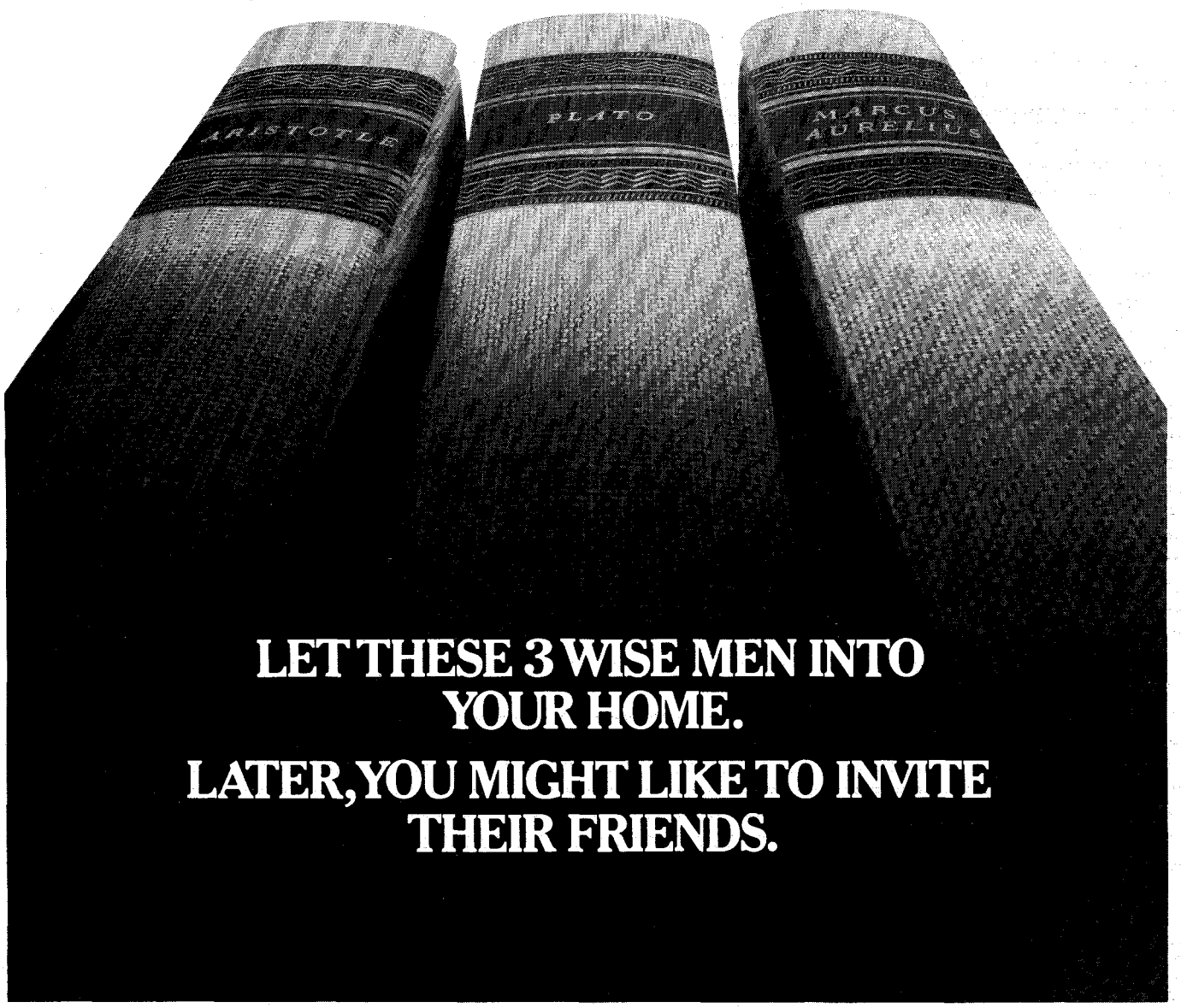

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THE WEEK

■ "Nicaragua Is Not an Enemy," contends a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece by William Sloane Coffin. Well, maybe not. Maybe we're a little bit simplistic. But we've always felt, just as a rule of thumb, that when a country names us as "the enemy of mankind" in its national anthem, friendly relations are getting off on the wrong foot.

■ How to Play Hardball in One Easy Lesson, by Albert Shanker, president, American Federation of Teachers. Shanker set out to make it clear to Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum and other liberal Democrats in the Senate that his union and much of the Jewish liberal community favor Ronald Reagan's appointment of Morris Abram and two other civil libertarians—who do not, however, believe in hiring quotas—to the Civil Rights Commission. "As someone whose union gave massive support to your re-election last year," Shanker wrote Metzenbaum, "I was profoundly disappointed at your behavior at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on Wednesday. How am I to explain to my members in Ohio [and get them to support you again] that the person we helped re-elect prefers Mary Berry [a commissioner Reagan is replacing] to Morris Abram . . . a man who stood side by side with Martin Luther King. . . . My members remember Mary Berry and her famous China speech in which she praised 'the reforms' of the Cultural Revolution in which more than 100,000 teachers and other intellectuals were beaten and slaughtered. [Neither teachers nor other intellectuals like that kind of thing.] . . . [You are playing an] obstructionist role [which could have far-reaching consequences for the Democratic Party]. . . . If we lose the presidential election next year, if we fail to regain the Senate, your actions will have contributed a large share of the blame."

■ The Reagan Administration has decided to sell the Treasury's Chrysler stock warrants to the public at full market value, rather than let Chrysler buy them back at a fraction of that value, as the company wanted. For once, in other words, the Federal Government is going to be businesslike and maximize its profits. Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca, famed advocate of an "industrial policy," says he is "shocked," and so are we all. "We offered the government a $250-million profit," Iacocca moans. But "they decided to go for the last few bucks." It's probably somewhere between 12 million and 100 million bucks, actually, but things get sort of misty in the upper reaches of industrial policy.

■ At the request of President Derek Bok, a group of Harvard scholars undertook an analysis of our nuclear policy. The results have now been published in a book entitled *Living with Nuclear Weapons*. It is an impressive piece of work. They oppose the freeze, regarding it as "nuclear escapism," and argue that it would entail years of negotiation with the Soviets and might well prove destabilizing. A policy of across-the-board "deep cuts" would cut the wrong things, e.g., our submarine fleet. They recommend that we attempt "modest but real steps toward improved safety that can be taken now." Their book is profoundly anti-utopian, and will not run in *The New Yorker*.

■ "The Food Research and Action Center"—has a respectable ring to it, no? Back in January the center's director announced some bad news. "After years of steady progress, infant-mortality rates are going up again—statewide in eight of the states surveyed and in 36 local areas. Something is badly wrong." The *Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and UPI all picked up the story—yet another tale from the dark night of Reaganism. David Stockman now points out that the announcement was statistically fraudulent—i.e., dishonest. The infant-mortality rate in fact fell in 1981 from 12.5 per thousand to 11.7; it fell again, to 11.2, over the first ten months of 1982. Some states bucked the trend; some (they change each year) always do—a normal statistical variation. But the carefully planted implication of the FRAC statement is "absolutely, totally, completely not true." P.S.: The FRAC gets money from the Legal Services Corporation.

■ Not until relatively late in the game did conservative lobbyists begin to hope that they might actually stop the new $8.4-billion contribution to the International Monetary Fund. Up to that point, they were merely trying to make matters hot enough in Congress to deter the IMF from coming around again in a year or two for yet more money. But then they began to pick up support from what at first seemed unlikely allies: Ralph Nader, the organized

Contingency Planning

If Castro stormed Miami Beach,
  Then headed for Fort Lauderdale,
While Marco Island got the works
  And Palm Beach dowagers turned pale,
I wonder whether Mr. Dodd
Would fight to stop him at Cape Cod?

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Certain conservatives here are worried because Ronald Reagan appears to be making a deal in Central America like the Kennedy/Khrushchev accommodation of 1962, wherein the U.S. agreed to keep hands off Cuba in return for the Soviets' keeping hands off the rest of the hemisphere. The current version is that President Reagan would give up our demands for the democratization of Nicaragua, providing Nicaragua desists from arming guerrillas in El Salvador, and Castro pulls his advisors out of Nicaragua and stops sending munitions to the Isthmus.

The question was put directly to Mr. Reagan at the White House on July 29, during a one-hour conversation with five columnists from the Washington TV program *The McLaughlin Group*—*NR*'s John McLaughlin, Pat Buchanan, Jack Germond, Robert Novak, and Georgie Anne Geyer (sitting in for *The New Republic*'s Morton Kondracke). The President replied that he would not be a party to simply putting an agreement on paper and then walking away, abandoning the people of Nicaragua to a situation in which no change would be possible. On the other hand, he said, the United States cannot simply install policy—say, a Good Neighbor policy—by fiat. He recalled that on his trip last year to Central and South America he had told various Latin leaders: "We're here to find out what your ideas are and what we can do together, as equal partners, to build ties between North and South."

Mr. Reagan went on to tell the columnists that the purpose of the U.S. military presence in Central America is to provide a shield behind which the nations of the region can put into effect the economic and social reforms that they have decided upon in free elections. He stressed that the United States would not approach Central America in the role of the colossus of the North, saying, "Look what we're going to do for you: This is the plan." Such behavior, he said, would be "insensitive."

This policy of Mr. Reagan's is somewhat more modulated than certain hardliners would like, and some are now saying that Mr. Reagan has lost his "ideological edge." They want the military solution in El Salvador to be allowed to work its will—as it now appears to be doing—in favor of the Salvadoran government. They also want the U.S. to be more forceful in encouraging the adoption of a political system in Managua closer to ours, with the American-aided contras (Nicaraguan rebels fighting to overthrow the Sandinistas) pursuing that end. Why do we have to be the enforcer of the Brezhnev Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere? they ask. Why should we accept the notion that once a state becomes Socialist/Marxist, there is no reversing it, no restraining its aggressive proselytizing, our only hope being to cut a deal that holds its external behavior in check for a time?

Our acquiescing, however much *faute de mieux*, in the Brezhnev Doctrine would mean, minimally, a Yugoslavia on the Isthmus and, more likely, a full replay of the Cuba 1962 tape. This is the two-steps-forward-one-step-back scenario, in which the Communists say, "We'll stop what we're doing, if you'll stop what you're doing"—having meanwhile moved one whole step closer to our borders. They then lie doggo for a period, regroup their forces, and advance two steps more—this time to, say, Grenada and, ultimately, Mexico. That's what's meant by "a revolution without frontiers." There is no real argument now over a policy that would check the export of the Sandinista revolution; the argument is over whether we should force Nicaragua to become a democracy.

On this issue of Nicaragua's internal status, President Reagan draws a distinction. Ensuring freedom of choice is one thing; imposing a system is another. If the people themselves elect to go down a Communist path, knowing full well the consequences of their choice, why this is their decision, and it must be respected. The choice must be free, of course, and, as Mr. Reagan made clear, he is fully aware that the Sandinistas are capable of thwarting that free choice, whether by rigging an election, or by making a few cosmetic changes and stopping the export of revolution long enough to pass the muster of enough people, inside the country and outside, to be left alone.

If that were to happen, the contras would eventually be turned loose again, with our aid, to fight for the cause of free choice. The President did not actually utter these words, but this was the impression he left the visiting journalists with, and it was confirmed by a senior Administration official who is very familiar with the President's mind. This solution satisfied most of the McLaughlin group—though not, alas, the purists present. —CATO

"peace" movement, left-leaning churchmen, and so forth. The groups on the Left dislike the IMF's policies for reasons just the opposite of the conservatives'. They complain that IMF loans are not enough like gifts, and they are especially upset that the fund sometimes demands that its government borrowers cut back on public-sector spending. Like other Left-meets-Right coalitions, this one is rather shaky. It is not inconceivable, for example, that this or some future Congress might decide to buy off the left- but not the right-wing critics by attaching amendments that would gut the "conditionality" of the fund's loans, or give Third World borrowers more say in the fund's management. In fact, amendments have already been offered that would hamstring strictly private lending by U.S. banks to foreign borrowers—a potentially disastrous lurch toward economic statism. Unfortunately, conservatives have a history of being outmaneuvered in these coalitions. Meanwhile, they lost the first round of this fight with the House voting 217 to 211 in favor of the assessment.

■ Once again the Kremlin Ethics Committee has fallen asleep at the switch. The KGB has concocted and circulated a phony taped "conversation" between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan about the Falklands war and the stationing of cruise missiles in England. The tape, apparently spliced together from various speeches by the two leaders, was sent—anonymously—to Dutch journalists shortly before Britain's May elections, presumably for the purpose of doing Mrs. Thatcher a bit of no good. Which is not to

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suggest that we should look for Communists under every bed. Provided the President, the armed forces, and the CIA are kept under close congressional and journalistic scrutiny, the world will remain safe for progressive forces everywhere.

■ They keep coming, through the windows, the letter slots, the transoms. Conservative students at McGill University are starting up the *McGill University Magazine*. The statement of principles attacks state control of education, and the enforced bilingualism that, in Canada, accompanies it. South of the border, the editor of the *California Review* (UC San Diego) found the words KILLERS FOR REAGAN painted on his driveway. The artist, a professor in the literature department, allegedly wrote the same slogan in red paint on a campus wall. Police caught him in class, uh, red-handed. UCSD students meanwhile voted to cut off student-body funding of the *Review* (black, gay, and other minority-*du-jour* papers continue to be subsidized). "The issue is not free speech," explained one scholar, "the issue is where to draw the line." As in LINE DRAWERS AGAINST REAGAN. Yowzah.

■ When we were in a recession, it was called "Reaganomics." But now things are looking up, so a *Washington Post* editorial refers in passing to "the buoyant economy that Mr. Reagan's unintentionally Keynesian policy of large deficits has finally produced."

■ Iran has announced it is boycotting the 1984 Olympic Games to be held in Los Angeles, in protest against U.S. policies in the Middle East and Central America. Shucks. We were looking forward to seeing those one-handed pole vaulters.

■ Menachem Begin's prolonged spell of melancholy and silence is worrying Israeli officials. Our theory is that he has just read the new book on the Shroud of Turin, soon to be reviewed in *NR*.

■ Roadside sign seen in his home district in Massachusetts: "Representative Studds has added a page to history."

■ Memo to Karl Marx: When does it start withering away?

Mr. Kissinger, Please Copy

We mustn't be like Louis, who,
With twenty thousand men,
Marched up a hill in perfect drill,
Then marched back down again.
For Louis went on ruling, since
A king could do no wrong,
But Presidents' accomplishments
Are rated right along.

W. H. VON DREELE

Linkage II

Suddenly, like a summer thunderstorm, Central America has burst upon us. The clouds had been gathering for months, but the real downpour of events began in the latter half of July, when, in the course of two weeks: The President appointed a bipartisan commission on Central America, headed by Henry Kissinger; the U.S. identified 12 shipments of Soviet arms en route to Nicaragua; the Pentagon announced that the U.S. would conduct extensive military exercises, involving as many as four thousand troops in Honduras, coupled with naval maneuvers in the Atlantic and the Pacific; Fidel Castro offered to curb the flow of arms into the region and to withdraw Cuban advisors, if the U.S. would reciprocate; U.S. special envoy Richard Stone met with Ruben Zamora of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front; and, in Panama City, nine Latin American foreign ministers opened a round of talks on the region's mounting turmoil. The deluge of events was a clear sign of the strategic importance the region has assumed in U.S. foreign policy.

Where there is rain, there will be umbrellas, and on Capitol Hill they were in abundant supply. The House voted a ban on covert U.S. support of the contra-Sandinista forces operating out of Honduras. The gutsier Senate will probably not follow suit, though even there sundry proposals and resolutions are circulating, ranging from acceding to the occupation of the Sudetenland to ratifying the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

The greatest portion of congressional and media wrath poured forth on the plans for U.S. military exercises in Honduras, seen as one step down the slippery slope to a Vietnam-like quagmire. The exercises are indeed a show of force, but as such, they may work to advance diplomatic efforts on behalf of peace. It is worth noting that Castro did not come forward with his semi-offer of peace, nor did the Salvadoran rebels meet with Stone, until after the exercises were announced. The sequence of events gives credence to the adage that strength is the foundation of all good diplomacy.

Meanwhile, the President reminds us time and again that Central America is but part of a larger global conflict. In order to focus the aging minds in the Kremlin on their own self-interest—and to make certain their self-interest lies in cooling it in Central America—the Reagan Administration should promptly consider probing elsewhere around the world. Moscow must learn that it cannot stir up trouble near

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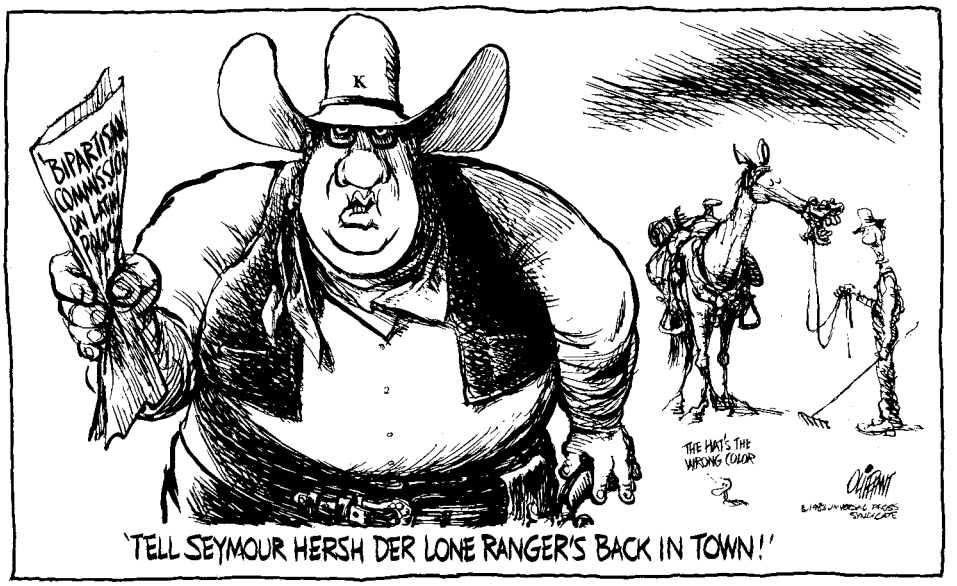

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our borders without risking turmoil on its borders. The most evident Soviet vulnerabilities in this regard are strife-torn Afghanistan and sullen, restless Eastern Europe. Why not tell Moscow that Poland will be declared in default and funding for Radio Free Europe doubled if the arms flow to Central America is not curbed? And couple that with a massive increase in aid to the rebels in Afghanistan. The road to a free San Salvador may well run through Warsaw and Kabul.

Out of the Breach

The National Governors' Association met last month in Portland, Maine, where it heard some wisdom from its chairman. "If we're not willing to face up to some tax increases pretty soon, we might as well kiss the recovery good-bye," said Utah's Governor Scott Matheson. Matheson, of course, is a Democrat. As were all the governors who appeared on the *Today* show in its segment on the conference. As indeed is the majority of American governors. Vice President Bush, Republican, showed up for some unequal time in which he warned against returning to "old ways," but he was a blip. Deficits are the problem, taxes are the solution. We adjourn, *sine die*.

There is more, naturally, to the governors' worries than disinterested concern for the girth of the national debt. Tax increases can shrink a deficit, at least temporarily. So can budget cuts. But if the federal budget is cut, then the slack will have to be taken up—or not taken up—by the states.

The political objection to federal spending, as opposed to economic or administrative objections, is that it fosters a politics of illusion. The dollars that go to Washington travel a longer and more tortuous course than those that pass through Albany, or Springfield, or Sacramento. They get lost sight of. The benefits they buy, meanwhile, appear to come from nowhere. Everyone pays for them, which is psychologically the same as no one paying for them.

There is also the problem of scale. It is hard, at the federal level, to draw attention to particular programs. It also seems unfair. When 220 million people have a claim on the Treasury, why should only ten thousand, or ten million, be singled out for cuts?

State spending lacks these psychological dry-ice machines. Even the budgets of the largest states (bigger than those of most nations) are more comprehensible than what gets drawn up in Washington. At the same time, the relation of costs to benefits is clearer—and hence, less fudgeable. When social spending comes down to the state level, the political choices involved will be much more difficult to duck—which is why the governors want to keep them in Washington.

Illegal Services

The Legal Services Corporation (LSC) was established to give legal help to the poor. Over the years conservatives charged that it gave a fair amount of help to the not-so-poor Left. When, early in its term, the Reagan Administration sought to get rid of the LSC, the news media, led by an enraged *Washington Post*, sprang to its defense. The LSC was spared. Now, in a damning series of articles, the *Washington Times*, the *Post*'s competition, has laid the LSC's most recent derelictions out in the open.

The election of Ronald Reagan filled the LSC with trepidation. Alan Houseman, then director of the LSC Research Institute, issued memos assigning "tasks for survival." "We must take all steps necessary to assure the continuation of social benefits and entitlement programs," Houseman wrote.

The LSC went to work. Money was pumped into sundry "training" programs, in reality lobbying groups ("Local work," said one memo, "is absolutely crucial"). Other money was hastily locked into local projects, where Washington couldn't touch it. LSC-published manuals recommended alliances with "the Democratic coalition" and harassing lawsuits as a "bargaining technique" with enemies. There were even, apparently, LSC spies in the Reagan transition team and the Heritage Foundation (LSCgate, anyone?). Meetings to plan and carry out this strategy

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were held across the country, at taxpayers' expense.

Some of the LSC's capers were truly amazing, real Tammany stuff. It funded a mayoral campaign in Georgia as a "project to educate clients about their rights in the legislative process." In Missouri, a grant went to "an ad hoc group framed to oppose the Reagan budget cuts and block grants" (a description from its own grant application).

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee has held hearings at which various LSC hacks have appeared to testify that there was nothing to it, nope, uh-uh. Meanwhile, the Appropriations Committee voted the LSC a plump $257 million. The Legal Services Corporation has proven that it does not perform the task for which it was created; that it cannot even operate by standards of normal rectitude. Get the veto pen ready.

The Bankruptcy Of Public Power

Ever since the New Deal, conservatives have felt defensive about public electric power. After all, cities with government-run utilities generally enjoy lower electric rates than cities with private utilities. Liberals during the 1930s never tired of pointing this out; in fact, there was even a play put on by FDR's Federal Theater Project in which, at the end of the final scene, actors recited the disparity in rates between pairs of similar cities, one with public and one with private power.

Faced with this propaganda onslaught, about all free-marketeers could do was list the reasons why the seeming advantages of public power were artificial and not real. Public power did not pay taxes; private power did. Public utilities got hydro-power from the most attractive sites on federal land, at a fraction of its true value; most private utilities paid full market value for the fuel they burned. Public power could borrow money more cheaply, by trading on its tax-free status and on local taxpayers' presumed willingness to bail it out in emergencies, and at the cost of crowding out other borrowers from the credit market.

In other words, public power was cheaper because it was massively subsidized by government, especially by the Federal Government. This was never a very popular argument to raise in a local debate, since it amounted to a plea that the city be virtuous and turn down federal handouts and tax advantages. In the face of the big incentives Washington had created for cities to embrace public power, the forces of economic rationality were somewhat apologetic.

They need apologize no longer. Public power has brought about the biggest local-government bankruptcy ever. In Washington State, the Washington Public Power Supply System, known as WPPSS (pronounced "Whoops"), has defaulted on $2.25 billion in bonds and is on the hook for a hair-raising $6 billion more, totaling more than three times the $2.4 billion that New York City defaulted on in 1975. The eruption of this financial Mount St. Helens may culminate in out-and-out bankruptcy or perhaps just a "rescheduling," but it makes little difference. In either case, the claims of public power have been incinerated:

Good management. Believe it or not, there was a time when some people thought that doing away with the profit motive would make management more scientific and less wasteful. But WPPSS turned out to be as profligate as New York City and Mexico before it. Cost overruns climbed to more than $20 billion before two of WPPSS's five scheduled plants were abandoned last year. (Because the plants were nuclear, it is already being suggested that *Atomkraft ist kaput*; but no private nuclear utilities have yet gone bankrupt.) Coincidentally, a recent poll by a University of Wisconsin professor asked respondents whether they agreed with the statement that "investor-owned utilities are generally more efficient than publicly owned utilities." The survey found 92.3 per cent agreement with this statement among the *staffers* of state-utility regulatory commissions—who, it should be noted, were rather critical of private utilities on other matters.

Low rates. Eighty-eight local utilities in the state of Washington are members of the WPPSS system, and their electric rates have been skyrocketing. Federal agencies such as the Bonneville Power Administration and Rural Electrification Administration are also stuck with big losses and could wind up cutting subsidies to other public systems as a result.

Stability. But isn't it safer, at least, to entrust the electricity supply to the government? If WPPSS were a private enterprise, it could at least be auctioned off to pay its creditors; as a public entity, its default is expected to lead to years and even decades of legal wrangling, especially since the state of Washington and its towns and counties are trying to walk away without paying.

The WPPSS debacle provides a perfect opportunity for Congress to repeal the many federal subsidies and preferences that encourage cities to go the public-

Acts of Desperation

The Democratic Party plots
  A Veep whose attributes will be
So distanced from the world of yachts,
  Minorities will shout, "That's me!"
So watch for someone female, black,
  With Spanish surname, wearing pants.
She'll win the kooks and crazies back
  While Mondale holds the maiden aunts.

W. H. von Dreele

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power route. Last year William Niskanen, the admirable White House economist, launched a study of how the Federal Government could raise its hydro-power rates to market levels. Unfortunately, the public-power lobby got the Senate to forbid the Reagan Administration even to study, let alone implement, such an audacious idea. Now is the time to revive the study —and proceed to action.

Two Cheers for the Court

For those who analyze Supreme Court decisions as television networks analyze congressional elections—by weighing the number of victories for "conservatives" against those for "liberals"—the most recent term of the Court has been a difficult one. Liberals retained their traditional dominance in the abortion area, rebuffing a strong challenge from conservatives who argued that the Constitution does not forbid states to require 24-hour waiting periods or notification to parents whose 14-year-old daughters seek abortions. Liberals also seem to have regained most of the ground they lost in 1976 when the Court held that the Tenth Amendment really imposes limitations on federal power: A decision this year reaffirmed that proposition but held that the limits are nearly impossible to find. Conservatives, however, scored some surprise wins in the establishment-of-religion precincts as the Court held that the Nebraska legislature need not fire its chaplain and that Minnesota may grant tax credits to the parents of all schoolchildren including those who attend religious schools. And it is not clear which side will benefit more from the invalidation of "legislative vetoes" of federal administrative rulings.

The difficulty is that justices sometimes vote not for political positions but for constitutional ones. If there was a unifying theme to this Court term, it was the increasing willingness of "conservative" justices to disregard recent Supreme Court precedents that conflict with their view of what the Constitution means. Justice O'Connor's dissent in the abortion cases, for instance, attacked not only the latest extensions of the Court-created constitutional right to abortion, but also the fundamental premises of the decision that "found" the right ten years ago. Justice Rehnquist's opinion in the Minnesota tax-credit case artfully distinguished this case from a recent case with nearly identical facts; he was able to do so because the case he was distinguishing it from had taken pains to distinguish itself from a still earlier case that also had quite similar facts. And a majority of the Court more or less admitted that its opinion in the Nebraska chaplain case violated the three-pronged test by which other Supreme Court majorities have struck down prayers in public schools, but pointed out that the Congress which proposed the First Amendment approved the practice of having a legislative chaplain, whereas the Court's three prongs were not invented until the day before yesterday. The "liberal" bloc, meanwhile, more often defended its positions by reference to the rule of *stare decisis*—"let the decision stand"—than by analysis of the text, history, or logic of the Constitution itself.

It was not always thus. Traditionally, justices who see constitutional interpretation as a search for the original understanding have been expected to march in single file while wearing bright red coats and obeying all traffic signals, whereas "progressive" justices who see the Court's work as the continuing elaboration of sound social policy have been allowed to fire from behind rocks and bushes. Accordingly, for the last thirty years or so the doctrine of *stare decisis* has protected *only* those recent judicial innovations that themselves overruled precedents of long standing. There now seems to be emerging a bloc of justices who recognize the fundamental tension between interpreting a document and following a precedent that made no serious attempt to interpret that document. The message of the recent term is that living constitutions can grow in any number of ways. Ours may even grow back into a Constitution again.

Monster Rallies . . .

. . . and we don't mean large crowds. In the midst of the Geneva talks, and with the planned deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe looming on the horizon, the nuclear-freeze people are gathering in various enclaves. Late July saw the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice turn up near the Seneca, New York, army depot. Before dawn one morning a group of women from the Encampment crept into the depot to show the laxness of security at the installation, where nuclear arms are allegedly stored. Then came the report from a paid staffer of the Encampment to the effect that "witches"—you got it: "spiritual people who use herbs to heal and do rituals in the full moon"—had joined the bivouac. So *that's* how the women's squad got over the fence. Yet no amount of incantation prevented the arrest of sixty protestors later on.

Not to be outdone by these hocus-pocus sisters, several New Hampshire groups organized August 5 festivities commemorating the 38th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. (See also "The Anti-Nuke Campaign Trail," by Dinesh D'Souza, p. 1012.) There was a parade by the Bread and Puppet Theater, which specializes in mutants and Uncle Sam caricatures; a "15-minute dramatized history of war, made and filmed in Strafford, Vermont" (the hottest combat zone this side of Beirut); and a speech on European nuclear disarmament by E. P. Thompson, a British anti-nuclear guru. Barnum lives.

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It seems likely, though, that the anti-nuke movement will continue speaking largely to itself. Politically, it is apparently in a state of meltdown with the victories of Kohl and Mrs. Thatcher and the coming Euromissile deployment. It may live on among women's "affinity groups" and campus Sixties types, but right now it looks as if Cranston peaked too soon.

Civil Riots

Government is nowadays so busy at so many worthy undertakings that it is probably unfair to burden it with the additional job of maintaining civil order. Thus New York City was unprepared for the youth mob violence that followed Diana Ross's free concert in Central Park on July 22. A third of a million people came, among them many minority kids from the outer boroughs, some apparently with the intention of doing what they did: snatching purses and necklaces, knocking people down, and beating them up in order to rob them. Police managed to arrest only 37 of the marauders.

Minority leaders and civil libertarians found it hard to condemn the violence. Instead they spoke of youth unemployment, poverty, drugs, and other "causes" of behavior that was transparently willful and premeditated. Some said the real danger was police brutality. One civil-liberties lawyer said it was not a civil-liberties issue because the problem was not "state-sponsored"—though in fact civil-liberties groups have long directed their attacks against private institutions, including schools, businesses, and hospitals.

It looks as if the only way to have rights and liberties under the progressive regime is to belong to an organized lobby or a certified victim group. Civil society is giving way to a sort of urban feudalism, and the simplest of freedoms—the freedom to go to a public place without being assaulted and robbed—seems to be without organizational support. Misguided attention to the causes of crime has failed to diminish violence; it seems, on the contrary, to have increased it. Meanwhile, the necessary condition of freedom, physical safety, becomes vestigial. Even so, the city forked out more than half a million dollars in overtime to police Miss Ross's concert. It's a little hard to figure.

Dr. Bowdler Is Back

In a front-page article, Edwin McDowell of the *New York Times* reports that Ernest Hemingway has made a "comeback." Not only are sales of his books up 25 per cent during the last few years, but he is at least partially recovering the favor of "literary taste-makers and intellectuals."

It is the terms in which he forfeited such favor that are worth noticing, because they had nothing to do with his power as a writer, but were entirely political and moralistic. Mr. McDowell interviewed a number of academics and literary critics and found that Hemingway had been under interdiction as "sexist" and as a romanticizer of war. (Hmmm. We guess they didn't ask Jake Barnes.) And his macho image as hunter, boxer, and drinker caused general offense.

In the early nineteenth century, the Reverend Thomas Bowdler and his disciples cleaned up Shakespeare, Chaucer, Gibbon, and other reprobates so that they would be suitable for the "delicate" sensibilities of young ladies. Some zealots even hid the l-gs of their pianos with draperies so as to avoid any taint of suggestiveness, and, anyway, l-gs were called "limbs" in polite company.

Present-day censorship is not directed toward the erotic but toward the political, and yet, like Bowdlerism, it is heavily influenced by militant women, as well as by militant minorities. Under its impact we have cluttered the language with Ms., Chairperson, and even Chair, and the word "offensive" gets heavy play in a political context. We are required to talk about Native Americans, née American Indians, and, of course, about "gays." In this updated Bowdlerism, the pejoratives are not the older "indelicate" and "indecent," but rather "sexist," "racist," "chauvinist," and "militarist." In addition to Hemingway, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, and other writers have come under cultural interdiction and in some cases been excluded from the curriculum because their sexual attitudes are held to be "offensive"—i.e., counter to the ideology of militant feminists. Works of the visual arts and traditional songs have been censored on some college campuses.

Not at all surprisingly, we are now seeing a massive "return of the repressed" as the forbidden material comes back in the form of pornography, that is, rebellious jokes, some of which have been collected and published in such half-underground volumes as *Truly Tasteless Jokes*, by "Blanche Knott" (Ballantine).

That Hemingway is now emerging from this latest onslaught of philistinism is good news.

David Niven, R I P

Château d'Oex, Switzerland—St. Peter's (Anglican) Church is small, so that most of the mourners were outside. In other circumstances one would have said that outside there were the gawkers and voyeurs, except that when David Niven died, everyone mourned him, not least villagers among whom he had lived for thirty winters, who knew him also on the screen. The flowers were Hollywood-grand, but different in arrangement from what the Godfather would have ordered for a prominent member of the family. The red-bearded English minister intoned, "Mindful of the

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example shown to us by our dear departed brother David Niven, let us repeat together the prayer of a sixteenth-century priest, Johann Arndt." It was an absolutely safe bet that David Niven had never heard of Johann Arndt, and there were certainly more movies made by David Niven, than sermons listened to by David Niven. Yet it was on the (closed) doors of St. Peter's that he threw himself that November midnight when his daughter was comatose after the terrible car accident.

"Bestow on me, oh Lord, a genial spirit," the priest was reading. On the widow's right sat Prince Rainier, whose own acquaintance with grief was witnessed by the tens of millions who were present at his wife's funeral. A genial spirit . . .

. . . There were four at dinner that night, at a restaurant in Monaco, and Rainier was, well, in a grumpy mood. Whatever it is that princes are trained to do to overcome royal distemper was not being done proficiently early on that evening, and this David Niven diagnosed with the speed of an X-ray machine and, like the physician, David Niven knew his duty, and he did it.

It required about twenty minutes for the therapy totally to take hold. It began with a tale of David's initial encounter with a lady of pleasure, when he was 15. It traveled through disparate episodes in Hollywood, Bangkok, Camp David; involving Errol Flynn, Tyrone Power, his cook, his ski teacher. His own naturally high spirits were engaged, but he was ministering primarily to the needy, and the neediest of all in this world are those who suffer not from hunger but from melancholy. He had only the one fear throughout his working life, which was that he might bore someone, someday. Or that he might fail to stimulate whomever he was talking to. And he had the physician's eye for who, in the room full of people, most needed attention. If ever there was a man who winked at the homely girl, it was Niven.

His friends persuaded him to go to the Mayo Clinic in February 1982. He had been misdiagnosed by half the doctors in Europe, among whom the consensus was that the three or four apparently unrelated things that were happening to him—faintly garbled speech, slight lack of leg coordination, vastly diminished appetite—were owing to a strained nerve dating back to a war injury. In two days, the clinic discovered what it was, and told him—much as Colonel C. Aubrey Smith of the Grenadiers would have told Lieutenant Niven that the expedition against the Russians was probably suicidal—that there was no cure, and that he was entering the "galloping" phase of the disease. Two days later, back in Switzerland, he told his friends that he simply intended to defeat the ridiculous disease, and every day he went for physical therapy.

As his voice control deteriorated, he suffered; but his distinctive exasperation was his relative inability to do his job, which was to be the genial spirit to friends and family.

By the time the next winter came, the last winter, it required concentration to make out what he was saying, but it was still possible, when he spoke slowly. He had, from necessity, become reclusive, but he would go in the afternoons to paint a little on canvases, the last one of which had clouds that, early in February, were pink and white, but, by late March, had become black, and grey, tumultuous even. He was in the hospital before that canvas was completed.

He stepped back one afternoon from his painting. "Do you know, I received a nice letter from a former master at Stowe when he heard I was sick, and I wrote back and said, 'Well, I guess it's just time to pack it in,' and he wrote back"—by now Niven was beginning to laugh—" 'What do you mean, "ready to pack it in"? You're only 72. I'm 83 and have no intention of packing it in.' " David thought that funny, but then he thought almost everything funny, only now he had to guard against abandoned laughter, because it convulsed him. The last time, again while painting, he could not control himself. "Ran into someone I hadn't seen for years, in Gstaad, and he shouted out from his car, 'Niven, how the hell are you?' And I shouted back as best I could: 'Well, Sam, you see, I got this bloody dis-ease—' and he interrupted and said, 'Oh, well, I've got a new bloody car myself!' " Paintbrushes in hand, he doubled over laughing.

Yehudi Menuhin led students in an octet of Mendelssohn's, the congregation recited the Lord's Prayer, and the minister closed by giving thanks that "as an actor and as a writer" the deceased "was able to bring happiness to millions of people the world over. Amen." Amen. —WFB

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

This will *really* interest you. I'm getting out of the newspaper business a little earlier than I had originally planned. After having the May 27 "Notes & Asides" drawn to his attention, the editor of the *Kansas City Star* summarily terminated my six-year-long professional relationship with that august newspaper. I am a martyr!

Since I was never a full-time staffer with a contractual commitment, I am more or less without recourse—which suits me fine. As you know, my association with the *Star* was stormy and frustrating; I'm not all that unhappy to have so exasperating a

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connection severed. And I can certainly understand the editor's wish to keep his bosom viper-free. I was leaving town in August, anyway, so I'm only out two months' pay. But I thought you might find it instructional to hear how quickly the guillotine dropped.

Terry [Teachout]
Liberty, Mo.

Memo to: Rick Brookhiser
From: WFB

Rick: On May 27, we ran Terry Teachout's letter enclosing the clipping from the *Kansas City Star* containing the mention of the President's upcoming speech. You will recall the *Star*'s only reference read: "REAGAN TO SPEAK. In a nationally televised address at 7 P.M. today, President Reagan will try to drum up support for his record defense-spending request of $244.5 billion, which is 10 per cent more than the rate of inflation." Please call the people at the *Star* and verify Teachout's post hoc ergo propter hoc.

Memo to: WFB
From: Rick

Called. The editor said, "That's like saying the shooting of the Grand Duke at Sarajevo caused World War I." I said, "But it did." Teachout's right. He was fired because he sent us that note, or anyway, that's my reading of it.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your reply to Father Canavan's letter in the issue of May 13 will not suffice. The extra "i" in *Spiritui* should have been replaced by an "s," fourth declension genitive singular, and the adjective should have been *Sancti*. Furthermore, I suggest *Spiritus Sanctus* (nominative) was of no help.

Sincerely,
L. Lawrence de Nicola
Alexandria, Va.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

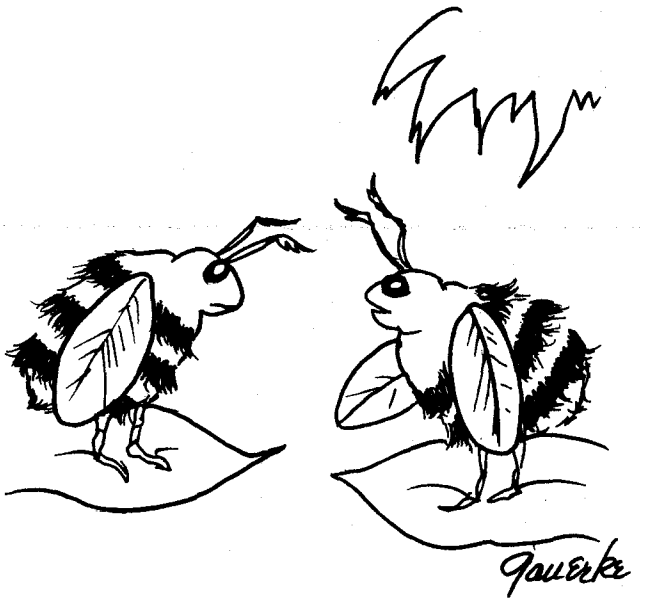
There's an old saying: When you want a cool drink of water, go to the top of the stream. This brings me to you with my questions.

Much is said in current political and social discourse of the "Third World" and its countries. Nothing that I can discover is said of a definition of this world. My questions are: What is the Third World? Third World implies First and Second Worlds. What are they? Are there Fourth and subsequent Worlds? Is there a list of countries in each World? If so, who made it? What are the qualifications for assignment to a particular World?

A companion term to "Third World" is "Developing Nation." I recall also "Undeveloped" and "Underdeveloped" as having enjoyed some popularity. Are there developed, undeveloping, dedeveloping, etc., nations, or are all nations on an asymptote to the developmental curve? Are there criteria for the application of these labels?

Probably you have considered these questions in the past and have come to some conclusions. Perhaps you could give us who still ponder them the benefits of your thoughts.

Sincerely,
John H. Filhiol
Monroe, La.



"How come we didn't make Laotians and Cambodians sick before 1975?"

Dear Mr. Filhiol: It is all very confusing, like why is a third-degree murder less bad than a third-degree burn? A developing country is one that opts for socialism. A Third World country is (a rule of thumb) one whose per-capita annual income is less than $1,000, or one that desires American economic aid.

Cordially,
WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Conservatives often ponder the socially beneficial role of the *Washington Post*. My mother (an intuitive conservative) unfolds the paper near her tomato plants, covers it with grass clippings, and uses it to keep weeds from growing in her garden. In this role the *Post* is quite effective.

An avid *NR* reader,
Paul R. Lawrence
Disputanta, Va.

Dear Mr. Lawrence: That's funny. Because in these parts, the *New York Times* makes the weeds grow quicker. And incidentally, Lawrence, if you think for one moment that we believe you live in a place called Disputanta, why you're selling us short, very short.

Cordially,
—WFB

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Another Bank Fails! Would a 1930s-style run on your bank wipe you out?

Informative New Book Lists 24 Safest Banks

A Little-known Fact

When you deposit $1.00 in your bank account, your banker only has to keep about 8¢ as reserve. Yes, *eight cents.* Have you ever wondered what's been happening to the other 92¢? (p.7)

WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS, by Dennis Turner, an original, shocking, well-researched exposé of the banking system reveals that much of *your* money is tied up in unsound loans—in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina, in companies such as International Harvester and Dome Mining; in questionable real estate ventures.

Largest Banks Already Insolvent

A December 1982 report by the House Banking Committee revealed that the 9 largest U.S. banks had outstanding Third World and Communist loans equal to 350% of their net worth. WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS shows that it is actually *your money* that has been shipped abroad. (p. 70)

Warning From Economist Alan Greenspan

"As we read the numbers, the chances of a dangerous breakdown are the greatest in a half-century." (p. 165)

Government Insurance Inadequate

The FDIC insures individual accounts up to $100,000. But for the $1.1 *trillion* insured, it has only $13 billion in assets—about one cent for each dollar. The FDIC can absorb small losses, but isn't ready for a real emergency. Dennis Turner advises you not to bet your life's savings on the assurances of the government: no matter how great its power, it can't squeeze blood from stones. (p. 21)

What Can You Do?

WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS explains the strategy you can use to safely protect yourself from the very real possibility of an international banking calamity. You will learn:

- The early warning signs of collapse. (p. 155)
- Why more banks are failing today than at any time since the Great Depression—and why this is only the beginning. (p. 2)
- How the banks shipped your money abroad—and why this money will never be repaid. (p. 29)
- Why many Third World countries will default on their debt— and throw the world into financial crisis within days. (p. 76)
- Why foreign banks, even weaker than U.S. banks, may trigger the collapse. (p. 85)
- What disastrous actions the government may take. (p. 173)
- How to tell if your bank is safe. (p. 203)
- *The 24 safest banks in America* (including addresses and phone numbers). (p. 207)

It's Up To You

WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS proposes several convenient, *easy* steps that you can use *right now* to protect your wealth. You will also learn:

- Why most savings and loans have weaknesses—but a few have *hidden strengths.* (p. 135)
- The best investments you can make to avoid losses when the banks collapse—and two investments that could produce tremendous profits (p. 187)
- How the government may confiscate part of your savings—and what you can do to reduce the risk of this happening. (p. 182)
- Why getting out of stocks and into the Swiss Franc could be dead wrong. (p. 193)
- What to do about money market funds, bonds, stocks and gold. (p. 191)

Is The Crisis Over? NO!

The international debt crisis is beginning to simmer again. A front page article in the June 8, 1983 *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The Second Wave: New Crisis Has Begun In International Debt" should have convinced you the crisis was not resolved, only postponed.

Are things getting better domestically? THEY AREN'T! Interest rates have declined, and the stock market has zoomed, but even the stock market advance is in part due to the problems in the banking industry. *Economic laws act slowly, but incessantly. The banking crisis is just beginning.* (p. 233)

WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS is a sensible, readable, dispassionate report of a disaster-in-the-making. It exposes the true causes and alerts you to the scope of this problem, discusses the tactics necessary to protect your life savings, and shows how you might even profit in the event of a collapse. This information is not available anywhere else. Your banker doesn't want you to read this book—BUT YOU MUST! Simple ordering instructions are below.

WHEN YOUR BANK FAILS, the latest book by Dennis Turner, hardcover, 244 pages, foreword by Dr. Jack Wheeler, preface by Dr. Tibor Machan.

For Fast Credit Card Service Anytime—

TOLL FREE
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FROM
Washington

JOHN McLAUGHLIN
Straight

Germany Reunified?

CONGRESS HAS adjourned, the President is on vacation, the bureaucracy snoozes, Washington cave dwellers are at the Vineyard, the city is a steam bath, and the diplomats stay inside, out of the heat, keeping their minds air-conditioned by a fresh issue. What holds the interest of the diplomats, and the few stray academics hereabouts, is Helmut Kohl's reckless eyeball-to-eyeball face-off with Yuri Andropov, inside the Kremlin, on the occasion of Herr Kohl's early July summit there. What the newly elected chancellor did was to call for the reunification of Germany, thereby rushing in where angels Brandt and Schmidt for years had feared to tread.

The scene was the more audacious when one recalls that the Soviet Union, of all nations, is the most terrified by the prospect of a single Germany. Kohl uttered the unspeakable, moreover, at a time when the Soviets are fearful that Poland may be wrested from the Warsaw Pact orbit and from the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), General Jaruzelski having gotten on well with the Pope, and the Poles having been reinspirited by him. If Poland becomes a quasi-buffer, the Soviets would be without untrammeled access to East Germany. So, it is not only that the chancellor says it right to Mr. Andropov's face, but also that he says it at a time when the Soviets are already worried about the potential loss of Poland.

This is all very iffy, of course, and the State Department thinks the likelihood of German reunification is nonexistent. "Nothing like this on the horizon," says one high-ranking State Department official. "Kohl may be going public with the reunification thing," the official continues, "because he wants to make the Soviets sweat about whether East Germany is as reliable as they had thought." The reunification theme is also a way of keeping the East Germans looking westward, he notes, where they really would like to be, "accentuating the differences between the East Germans and the Soviets, and between the East Germans and the West Germans whom they see on TV enjoying creature comforts they are deprived of."

The unity talk may, however, be viewed not as a maneuver by Kohl but (and this is the way Republican Senator Richard Lugar sees it) as a groundswell by the German people. If you hold the latter view, a lot of evidence can be adduced to substantiate it. In West Germany today, for example, political parties abound: the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, the Free Democratic Party. All these parties are fighting one another on a plethora of issues, ranging from pensions to the stationing of ground-launched nuclear missiles. But on one issue there is no discord—reunification. This consensus is all the more remarkable given the distance between, say, the Greens and Franz Josef Strauss's extremely conservative Christian Social Union.

Deutschmarks Going East

As another case in point, it is said that the recent transfer of $400 million in private bank loans from West to East Germany to help intra-German trade will necessarily work to unite the two German entities. Also, the Communist Party chief of East Germany, Erich Honecker, received the very conservative Strauss in a topsy-turvy East/West conjunction "curiouser and curiouser" than Alice's Wonderland. Honecker, by the way, is continuing to let out East Germans in return for hard currency.

West Germany's intransigent refusal to go along with Ronald Reagan's pipeline embargo is seen by some here as a reunification stratagem. Also, Germans don't want to estrange the Russians because Bonn seeks the return of up to 200,000 Soviet citizens of German extraction. So Mr. Reagan's pipeline overtures get subordinated to the reunification push. Similarly, the West Germans have continued to give aid to Poland, rejecting full-fledged sanctions (like ours) because Helmut Kohl wants to pull back thousands of Poles of German origin to live in a consolidated homeland. Finally, West Germany has made no reprisal against her Iron Curtain other half for supplying men to act as Soviet proxies in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, and Central America, helping train and arm adversaries of the United States.

A Threat to Europe

Germany has been divided almost continuously, in one way or another, since the death of Charlemagne. Reunification now, were it to occur, would scare the deuce out of all Europe, East and West: Russia, Britain, France, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark. "What will they do if they get together?" asks a Western diplomat here. "They'll try to squash the rest of Europe. If de Gaulle were alive, he'd be firing his rockets at Germany now, just at the talk of unification. He'd see Alsace-Lorraine as first on the German reacquisition list." But in fact, Mitterrand says nothing, Mrs. Thatcher says nothing, NATO says nothing, we say nothing. Why? Because of West German money, and no sense of urgency.

Yet, as an internationalist puts it, "We could be on the threshold of the most dramatic shift of the West/East power equation in this quarter-century. Do we want to ape the Thirties where everyone sucked their thumbs while Hitler broke the Versailles pacts, pulled out of the League of Nations, and marched into the Rhineland?"

The diplomat put careful limits on his analogy, and stressed that he meant to be inoffensive. Yet, he insisted, the central point of the comparison is true. We don't have to wait for a catastrophe to occur before doing something. Let's start thinking about long-sighted policies that will be able to turn this world power upheaval, if it comes, to the advantage of the West and to the disadvantage of the East.

Why, this is big enough, I said to myself half-seriously, for a bipartisan commission. Who would chair it? Who else? Henry, of course, who could then get free rides to West Germany to watch the soccer games. □

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(From a letter smuggled out of the USSR and printed in The New York Times, June 8, 1980.)

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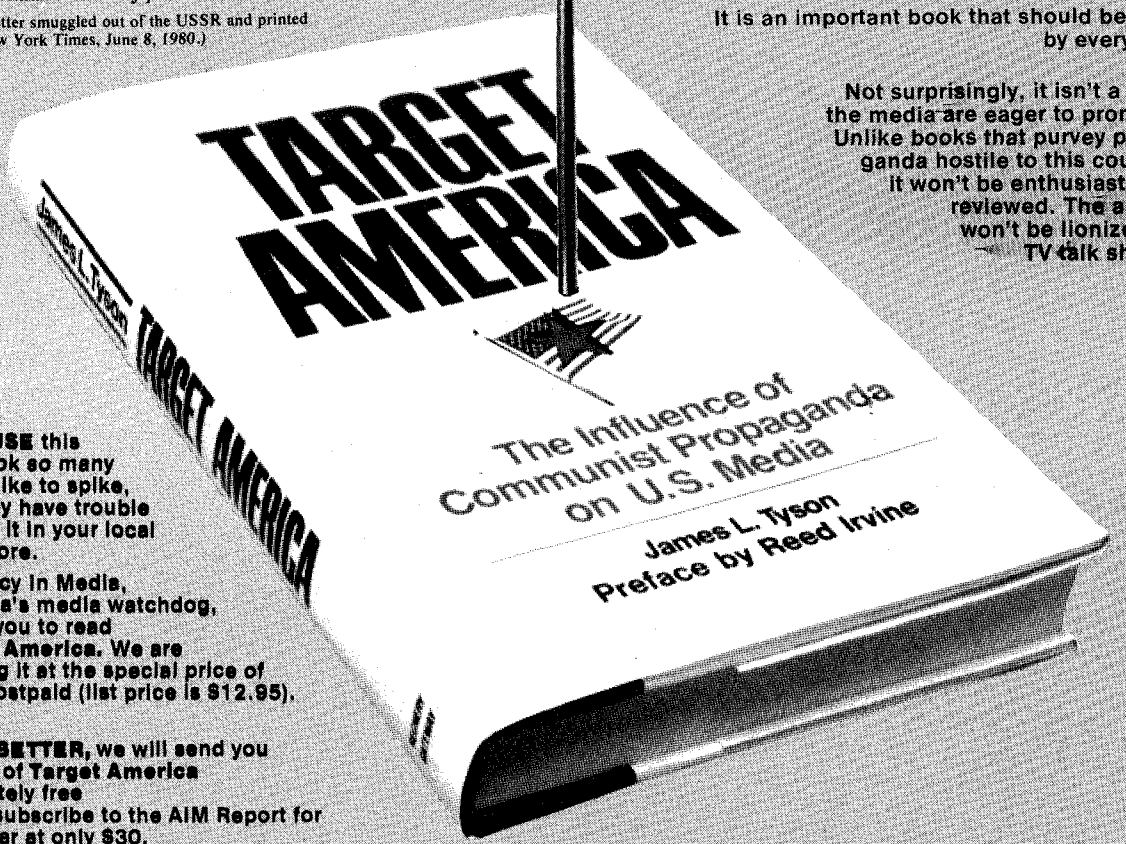

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Omens of Collapse

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

THE LEADING recent exponent of the do-nothing school of Sovietology was Professor Marshall Shulman, whose advice to President Carter was that since the Soviet system was going to collapse anyway from its built-in contradictions and deficiencies, there was no point in doing anything to hasten the inevitable end.

His successor (under President Reagan), Professor Richard Pipes, was altogether more robust and realistic, but he has unfortunately returned to Harvard. The new advisor on Soviet affairs in the National Security Council is Jack Matlock, who has outstanding linguistic and career credentials, latterly as ambassador to Yugoslavia, with service in Moscow and mastery of Russian and other East European languages. The only question mark has nothing to do with ability or qualifications but merely with the fact that Mr. Matlock is a career diplomat from the State Department. That, it must be admitted, is a potential handicap to be overcome.

The omens of collapse are certainly visible in the Soviet system and empire, and the question of greatest relevance to this column is whether the process is to be accelerated or decelerated by the United States and other governments of the Western Alliance. The do-nothing attitude of the Carter years suited the Soviets just fine. They took it, rightly, as a signal that if some piece of real estate took their fancy, such as South Yemen or Ethiopia, all they needed to do was organize a coup d'état.

The more realistic school, to which Richard Pipes belongs, favors putting a stop to actions that would help to prolong the life of the regime. I do not wish to attribute ideas to Professor Pipes, but, to pick up the theme, this ought to mean a ban on easy credits, transfers of high technology, and grain sales. It should also mean making a start at lopping off distant and vulnerable outposts of the Soviet empire, such as Grenada, Surinam, Cabinda, and the Seychelles. The point here is that there is no easier way to shatter the myth of invincibility and irreversibility upon which the Soviet doctrine of inexorable advance rests.

Back to our omens. We all know about the long-standing ones, such as the failure of the Soviet Union's economic system and especially of its agriculture. We know about the disproportionate share of national resources appropriated by the armed forces. We are learning more and more, from recent high-level defectors, about the endemic corruption without which a vast centralized planning system could not work. We know, too, that alcoholism, always a problem, has now reached epidemic proportions, affecting the female as well as the male population; that the death rate is rising and the birth rate falling, at least among Great Russians; and that the proportion of Muslims in the armed forces is rising.

New Soviet Man

Two factors, however, have not yet attracted enough attention. One is the frankness and cynicism of the ruling establishment: the *nomenklatura*. The other is the growth of a new form of *Russian* nationalism that places the leadership in a possibly insoluble quandary.

Increasingly, traveling members of the *nomenklatura* are willing to speak quite freely about the shortcomings of the system. They have a paradoxical but understandable preference for speaking to their compatriots in exile, especially to members of the anti-Soviet Russian organization, the National Alliance of Solidarists, who naturally provide many interpreters for East-West meetings and conferences. The contents of what they say, in my view, rules out all possibility that it could be part of a KGB disinformation ploy.

These men, senior members of trade or scientific or industrial missions, say in effect that they are well aware that the Soviet system is backward, inefficient, and corrupt. They themselves, however, do quite well out of it. Experience tells them that Western memories are short and that should the regime ever need a particular technology, either the huge Soviet industrial espionage apparatus will grab what is needed or Western governments will oblige.

In this context, an interesting case is that of the exiled Soviet writer, Aleksandr Zinoviev, whose important books *Homo Sovieticus* and *Communism as Reality* have recently been translated into English for the first time and should be available next year. Unlike the great Solzhenitsyn, Zinoviev is not a true dissident. In the foreword to the former title, Zinoviev writes about Homo sovieticus, shortened to "Homosos":

> I have a dual relationship with this new being: I love him and at the same time I hate him; I respect him and I despise him . . . I myself am Homosos. Therefore I am merciless and cruel when I describe him.

He is an exile because he couldn't keep his critical mouth shut. But essentially he is like those members of the *nomenklatura* who know the system is rotten but feel they can live with it.

The new wave of Russian nationalism is something else. A number of Soviet writers are increasingly taking a *Russian*, not a Soviet, nationalist line. That is, they are critical of the destruction of Russian culture and traditions in the interests of Soviet Communism, of the environment in the interests of industrialization. In the West, these people would be "Greens" or ecologists.

Russian Colonies

The quandary Andropov and his colleagues must contend with lies in the fact that always, ever since Lenin reconquered the Czarist empire after the Revolution, there has been an unacknowledged Russian ethnic base to the Soviet system. The peoples of the outlying areas of the USSR—Georgians, Armenians, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, and so forth—feel that their areas are really *Russian* colonies. The best jobs have mostly gone to Great Russians, and not merely because of numbers.

That is why it is so difficult for Andropov, even with his long experience as head of the KGB, to repress the resurgence of Russian nationalism. For in so doing, he would be repressing the section of Soviet society that has most benefited from the system; in other words, the system would be destroying its own hard core. □

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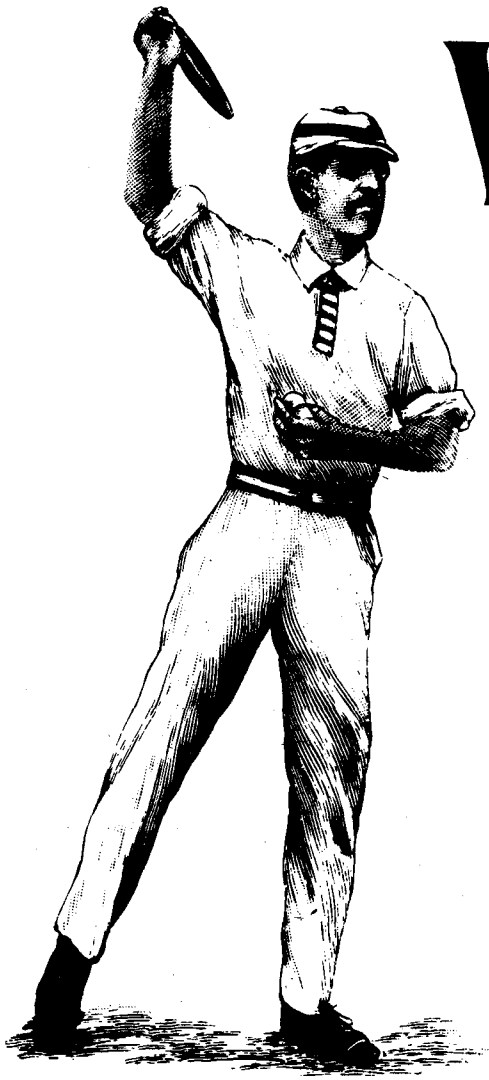

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EUGENE V. ROSTOW

Arms-Control Fever

LAST MONTH President Reagan took the occasion of his weekly radio broadcast to repeat what he and everyone else in his Administration have stated again and again, that America is willing to consider "any serious Soviet counter-offer" to our proposals for cutting back nuclear arsenals. The key word, of course, is "serious." We have had frivolous counter-offers aplenty—stalling operations, headline-fillers, propaganda ploys—and we shall have many more. We must sift them carefully and reject them firmly, in the hope that by doing so and in the knowledge that only by doing so can we encourage true responsiveness.

By way of guidance, I offer five simple propositions, drawn from my recent experience as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

I.

The first is that we expect too much of arms-control negotiations and arms-control agreements. Arms-control agreements can be useful instruments of foreign policy, and they are well worth pursuing. But they are not a substitute for foreign and defense policy, a wand we can wave to produce peace without tears. Many people throughout the West, however, seem to believe that a nuclear-arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union—any agreement, good, bad, or indifferent—could guarantee the peace, or even that the process of negotiating such an agreement would somehow soothe the breasts of the Soviet leaders and restrain their programs of expansion. The point is underlined by a remarkable bipartisan unanimity among the pundits, who tell us that President Reagan will win easily next year if there is moderate economic recovery and an arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union.

I submit that the strength of this view, and its manifest dangers, justify the description "arms-control fever." The most significant aspect of the faith in arms control as peace magic is that it defies the visible lessons of experience. How such beliefs can be entertained after what happened in the Seventies—or for that matter, what happened during earlier periods when arms-control fever raged—goes well beyond the limits of my understanding. Perhaps true faith is always immune to the evidence of the senses. The most important arms-control agreements of this century—the Treaty of Versailles and the naval agreements of the Twenties and Thirties—are hardly banners to which wise men can repair with confidence. In fact, the only truly successful arms-control agreement I know about is the Rush-Bagot treaty of 1817, which demilitarized the Great Lakes.

The record of our experience with arms control during the Seventies is all too plain. During the Seventies we made two nuclear-arms agreements with the Soviet Union. They were ratified in 1972, and we spent the rest of the decade negotiating, signing, and debating the SALT II agreement. Throughout the West, people hailed the SALT process as the road to peace, and confidently assured us that when the Soviet Union had achieved nuclear parity, a place in the sun, and recognition as a great power, it would give up its policies of expansion and live by the rules against aggression embodied in the United Nations Charter. Such condescending attitudes toward the serious men who govern the Soviet Union have always been exercises in wishful thinking. In 1983, they cannot be put forward at all. The Soviet Union did not do what it did during the last ten years in a fit of absence of mind; its foreign policy shows remarkable continuity and tenacity. The Seventies were a period of extraordinary Soviet expansion in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Caribbean, and of extraordinary—and continuing—growth in Soviet military power, and especially in the power of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. In each case, Soviet expansion was achieved by an aggressive use of force violating the rules of the United Nations Charter. And Soviet nuclear expansion went far beyond "parity," by any method of counting.

My first point, then, is simple but not easy. "Disarmament" and "arms control," on the one hand, and "collective security" against aggression, on the other, are twin policies. There can be no arms control or disarmament if world politics degenerates into a war of all against all.

II.

Paradoxically, my second point may seem to challenge my first. It is that while every step on the road to our nuclear-weapons dilemma was understandable in its context, the development of nuclear arsenals has become an insanity from which there can be no genuine escape save through Soviet-American agreement.

Mr. Rostow, currently Sterling Professor of Law at Yale University, was Dean of the Yale Law School from 1955 to 1965 and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in the Johnson Administration. He is a member of the Committee on the Present Danger.

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When the group of experts led by Einstein came to President Roosevelt and told him that Hitler was trying to make an atomic bomb, the President had no alternative but to go forward. So it has been ever since, with each Soviet breakthrough eliciting what we like to think is a deterrent response from us. Thus step by step the nuclear-arms balance has become more complex and more bizarre. Vast sums are being spent on the development and manufacture of weapons whose function is to convince the other side that they *could* be used without quite risking the possibility that they *would* be used. And sizable numbers of the most intelligent members of the work force of many countries are absorbed in making these weapons of intimidation, in monitoring the activities of others in the field, and in trying to calculate arms-control formulae that might reduce the menace implicit in their existence.

Many metaphors have been used to describe the nuclear relationship between the superpowers. A famous article some years ago described them as two scorpions in a bottle. President Reagan spoke the other day of two men on opposite sides of a table pointing loaded guns at each other. No one can disagree with President Reagan's comment that there ought to be a less barbarous way to keep the peace.

Perhaps new technologies of defense will make the nuclear weapon obsolete. Perhaps we can muddle through for another generation in something like the present pattern. But genuine deliverance from the nuclear nightmare can only be imagined through fundamental change in the foreign policy of expansion the Soviet Union has pursued so actively since 1945.

The kind of Soviet-American understanding that is indispensable to real progress in reducing the menace of nuclear weapons—not enough in itself, but indispensable nonetheless—is something much more comprehensive and fundamental than a technical nuclear-weapons agreement confined to weapons quotas. Such agreements can do either good or harm, depending upon circumstance. Good arms-control agreements can be useful catalysts, helping to encourage peace, and to reinforce peace once it has been established by other means. Bad arms-control agreements can do a great deal of harm, if they prevent the West from taking necessary steps to deter aggression against our vital interests, and thus encourage war. The director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) is in a position a little like that of Admiral Jellicoe during the First World War. Churchill said of Jellicoe that he was one of the few people on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon. In the event, of course, Jellicoe nearly did so at Jutland. And, so far as the nuclear balance is concerned, we nearly did the same thing in SALT I and II.

The author (right) being greeted by President Reagan in the White House.

By their existence, nuclear weapons generate fear. And fear of the growing power of rivals has been an important cause of war throughout history. It has also been an important justification for surrender

III.

The third point is that the nuclear weapon is primarily a political, not a military force—a potent political force, generating currents of opinion that are transforming our world. No one can guarantee the absence of nuclear war, especially if nuclear weapons fall into the hands of irrational political leaders. Nonetheless, I believe the risk of nuclear war is far smaller today than the risk that the unity of the West will be destroyed and the West itself reduced to neutrality by psychological and political pressures emanating from the nuclear balance.

If we look back at the pattern of war and peace since 1945, we can see how calculations of the nuclear balance have influenced political and military decisions, from Berlin and Cuba to Korea, Vietnam, and the successive Middle East crises. When increasing numbers of serious people, including former President Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, tell us that the changes in the Soviet-American nuclear balance have made American nuclear guaranties incredible; when they say that great powers do not commit suicide for their allies, and that no American President could now do what President Kennedy did during the Cuban missile crisis twenty years ago, or what President Nixon did during the Middle East crisis of October 1973, it is time to stop, look, and listen.

By their existence, nuclear weapons generate fear. And as Thucydides, among others, wisely emphasized, fear of the growing power of rivals has been an important cause of war throughout history. It has also been an important justification for surrender.

The Soviet Union achieved an advantage during the Seventies in ground-based ballistic missiles—the most accurate and destructive of nuclear weapons, and the ones most nearly immune to defenses. We never should have allowed that advantage to be attained, but we did. In 1972, the United States and the Soviet Union were approximately equal in the number of warheads each had on ground-based ballistic missiles of intercontinental range. During

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the last decade, the United States' ICBM force remained stable, and we made no intermediate-range missiles like those of the Soviet Union. By 1982, the Soviet Union had achieved a lead of 3 to 1 in ICBM warheads. If one adds to this figure the intermediate-range Soviet missiles targeted on Europe, China, the Middle East, and Japan—now a force of some 1,400 or 1,500 warheads, growing at the rate of three a week—the advantage becomes even more formidable. In other words, to recall an argument popular in the nuclear debate, the United States set a good example, but the Soviet Union didn't follow it.

Many of us remember Henry Kissinger's famous question, "What in Heaven's name can one do with nuclear superiority?"

The answer to Mr. Kissinger's question is now obvious. The Soviet advantage in ground-based missiles implies a theoretical first-strike capability, that is, a capacity to improve one's military position by undertaking a pre-emptive nuclear strike against the nuclear arsenal of one's adversary and other military targets. If the Soviet Union could knock out our forces in that way with one-third or one-quarter of its ICBMs, the Soviet leaders could well believe that the remainder of their force would deter any response whatever on the part of the United States. Under these circumstances, there would be no credibility in an American threat to kill millions of Soviet citizens if the Soviet Union in response could kill many more million Americans.

What is at stake is whether the United States can have a foreign policy at all, or whether the political tides generated by the Soviet nuclear advantage will force us to a policy of neutrality in Fortress America

When this dismal scenario is coupled with the Soviet monopoly in intermediate-range ground-based missiles, like the SS-20s, the rationale behind the Soviet arms buildup becomes all too clear. It is based on the belief that Soviet numerical superiority in ground-based missiles creates a credible capacity for nuclear blackmail. The Soviet Union considers nuclear superiority as an ultimate and paralyzing reserve, permitting it to pursue its policy of indefinite expansion based on the use of conventional forces, terrorism, and subversion without fear of American retaliation. By such methods the Soviet Union can hope to gain the fruits of military victory without having to fight.

The state of the nuclear balance, as Helmut Schmidt has said, has a subliminal effect on the human mind. The Soviet advantage in ground-based missiles is the source of the nuclear anxiety that is having such a profound political influence throughout the Western world. The Soviet monopoly on modern intermediate-range ballistic missiles constitutes a threat to Europe, China, and Japan at a time of growing doubt about the credibility of the nuclear umbrella provided by our intercontinental forces. The Soviet leaders believe that the whip-saw effect of these twin pressures, along with other Soviet activities and preparations on the periphery of Europe and Asia, will undermine the foundations of the American alliance system. Throughout the non-Communist world, this twin pressure is strengthening movements for neutrality and unilateral disarmament, on the one hand, and for policies of isolationism, militarism, and ultranationalism, on the other—in short, for policies of self-deception, *sauve-qui-peut*, and the devil take the hindmost at both ends of the political spectrum.

If these political impulses were allowed to become full-blown panic, the structure of world politics would be transformed. Our troops would be withdrawn from forward bases and our alliances would be dissolved; nuclear weapons would proliferate; and we would be unable to protect our most fundamental national-security interests against Soviet or Soviet-inspired aggression.

What is at stake in the nuclear-arms talks, then, is whether the United States can have a foreign policy at all, or whether the political tides generated by the Soviet nuclear advantage will force us to a policy of neutrality in Fortress America, as President Nixon and Mr. Kissinger suggest.

There is no objective justification for policies of withdrawal and surrender of this kind. A calm, steady, confident American foreign policy will continue indefinitely to deter the ultimate tragedy of nuclear war and provide the foundation for successful programs of containment and collective security. As Professor Leslie Martin has said, the change in the nuclear balance may mean that the emperor is naked. But he is still emperor. There is no substitute for American nuclear deterrence. And it can continue to work. Foreign policy is influenced by many factors beyond computer print-outs defining the nuclear balance: by passion, fear, cowardice, stupidity, and accident; and by heroism, discipline, and faith, among others.

Our goal for the arms-control talks in Geneva, therefore, is to confine nuclear weapons to the defensive purpose of deterring aggression. To facilitate this goal, we are concentrating in the first instance on the ground-based ballistic missiles, although we are of course fully prepared to negotiate about other nuclear weapons as well. The essence of our position in Geneva is to negotiate agreements that would make the two sides equal in nuclear deterrent power at radically reduced levels. Obviously, the United States must eliminate the Soviet advantage in the most destabilizing class of nuclear weapons—by agreement, by force modernization, or by a combination of the two. Equally clearly, we should infinitely prefer that advantage to be eliminated by agreement rather than by increasing our present nuclear arsenal.

The *New York Times* put the issue well in an editorial called "How Much Is Enough?" on April 11, 1982. The task of arms-control diplomacy, the *Times* said, is to allow the United States to maintain deterrence, "which has kept the industrial world at peace for the longest stretch in history," and "to forbid the weapons which defy deterrence . . . That done, the arms race can subside. Until it is done, there never will be enough." If arms-control agreements make it impossible for the Soviet Union to execute a pre-emptive first strike without expending 80 per cent (rather than 25 per cent) of its missile force, they should make a genuine contribution to political stability.

IV.

The fourth point is that thus far there is no sign of change in the Soviet position in the arms-control negotiations or in any other area of Soviet-American diplomacy.

The Soviet Union has not even accepted one of the

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proposals to neutralize Afghanistan, thus permitting a withdrawal of Soviet troops and a diminution of the Soviet threat to Iran and to Pakistan. Despite the stunning setback to Soviet plans in Lebanon, the Soviet Union has increased its own strength in Syria, threatening the air space of the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean. In Poland it continues to seek a restoration of order through repression, rejecting President Reagan's proposals for a progressive solution of the Polish crisis based on East-West cooperation. And in the Caribbean, in Asia, and in Africa it continues and indeed has increased its support for a sequence of armed attacks across a number of international frontiers.

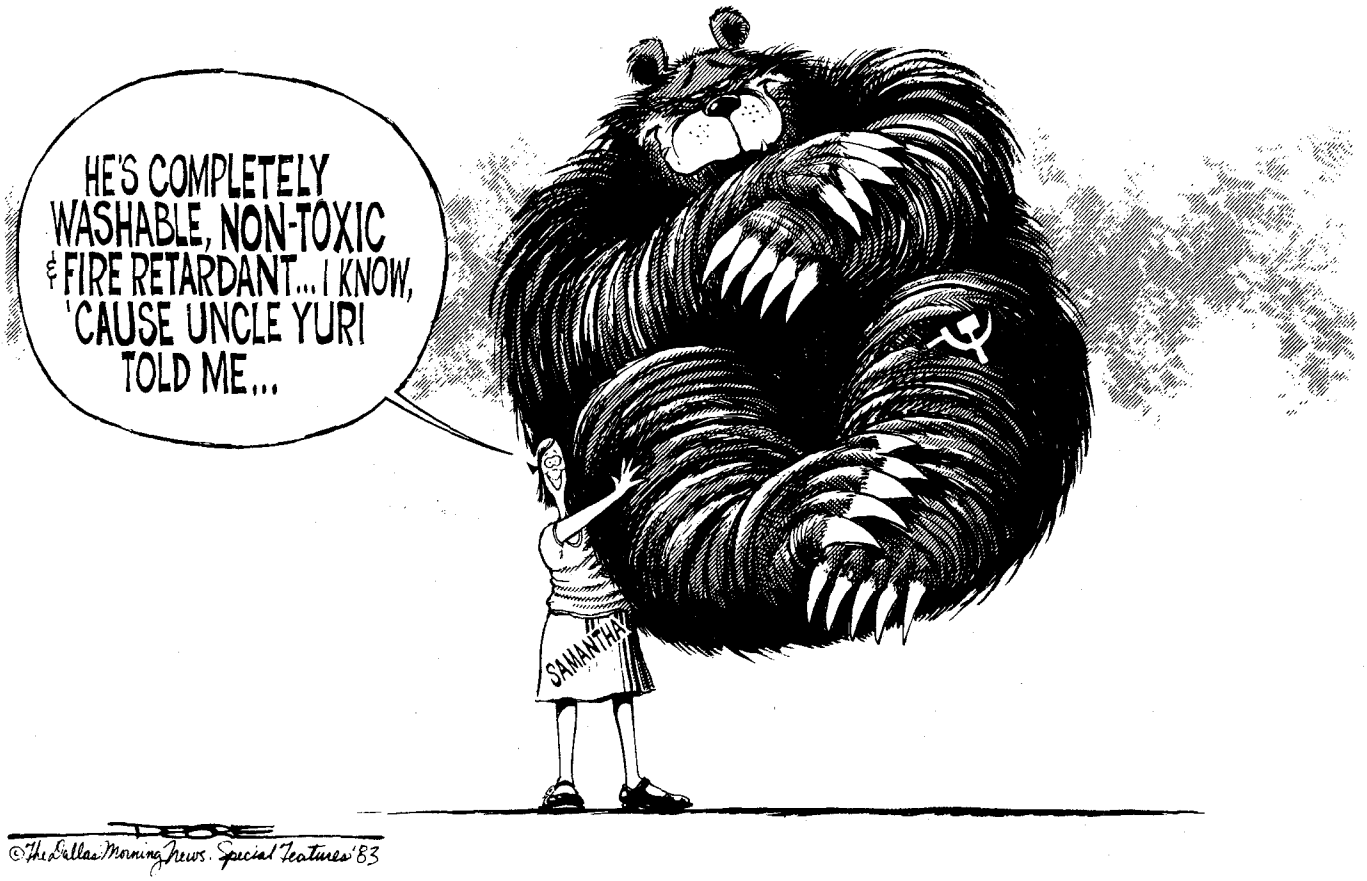
Since the early 1950s, at least, the primary strategic goal of Soviet expansion has been to change the world balance of power by separating Western Europe from the United States and Canada. To achieve this goal, the Soviet Union has been following an old and familiar strategic doctrine. It has been seeking to outflank Europe from the north and south, thus bringing the entire Eurasian land mass under Soviet control, and, on that basis, taking control of the Middle East and Africa. That done, the Soviet leaders believe, Japan and the other nations of the Pacific basin would accept Soviet suzerainty as inevitable; the peoples of Europe would lose hope; and, finally, an isolated United States would have no choice but to acquiesce in Soviet dominion.

Mr. Andropov, the new Soviet leader, defined the strategic goal of Soviet policy with refreshing candor in a speech he delivered on August 5, 1978, in Karelia, near Finland. The overriding task of foreign policy today, Mr. Andropov said, is to make détente irreversible. That task is indispensable in the name of humanity. And the outcome is made inevitable by what the Soviets like to call "the correlation of forces," and especially the balance of nuclear forces. Confronting these objective facts, Mr. Andropov says, the West has no alternative but to accept the Soviet conception of détente, which he defines in these terms:

> Here in Karelia, one must stress the significance attached to the lengthy experience of neighborly, genuinely equal, and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland. Soviet-Finnish relations today form an integral and stable system of equal cooperation in various spheres of political, economic, and cultural life. This is détente embodied in daily contacts, détente which makes peace more lasting and people's lives better and more tranquil. In the last analysis, this is the highly humane meaning of the foreign policy of socialism and the foreign-policy activity of our party and the Soviet state.

Soviet conduct in the two nuclear-arms-control negotiations in Geneva, and in the active propaganda campaign accompanying those negotiations, is altogether compatible with Mr. Andropov's view. The main objectives of the Soviet Union in Geneva are to divide the United States from its allies, and to prevent the modernization of the American armed forces, and particularly the American nuclear forces. By those means, Mr. Andropov seems to think, it will be easy to reduce the West to neutrality and the role of hewing wood and drawing water for the Soviet Empire.

In the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) talks, the United States has proposed the abolition of the entire class of intermediate-range ground-based ballistic missiles on both sides. The Soviet Union has responded by repeatedly denouncing and rejecting this American zero-zero proposal


HE'S COMPLETELY WASHABLE, NON-TOXIC & FIRE RETARDANT... I KNOW, 'CAUSE UNCLE YURI TOLD ME...
SAMANTHA
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and has offered in its place an ingenious plan that would permit the Soviet Union to keep, and perhaps even to expand, its present SS-20 forces in and near Europe. Under the Soviet plan, the United States would not be permitted to deploy any comparable weapons in Europe. I do not know of any Western expert on the subject who regards the Soviet INF proposal as serious. The Soviet position is based not only on some athletic arithmetic about the weapons on each side that should be counted as intermediate-range nuclear weapons, but on the proposition that the British and French nuclear weapons should be included in the agreement as American. This proposition is entirely spurious. The British and French weapons are not under American or NATO control. They exist for ultimate reasons of national survival and do not constitute an aggressive threat to the Soviet Union in any possible sense, as Soviet officials freely admit. The argument is put forward purely as a bargaining device and as a way of weakening European confidence in the American guaranty. Soviet-American parity is an important goal in itself. The Soviets' claim that they have a right to a nuclear force equal to the sum of all other nuclear weapons in the world is a claim not to equality, but to hegemony.

The Soviet Union has claimed for itself—and only for itself—the privilege of using force against the territorial integrity of states that are not governed by socialist regimes

In July 1982 the Soviet and American ambassadors to the INF talks, with my full support, suggested consideration of a compromise, which would involve low, equal limits for both sides in and near Europe and in the Far East. That approach could make a major contribution toward the security of both countries, and of the world, by moving the nuclear arsenals toward a position of deterrence, and improving the credibility of the United States' nuclear guaranties for its allies and other vital interests. In March 1983, President Reagan publicly announced our acceptance of the principle of the ambassadors' compromise, which the Soviet Union had vehemently rejected last fall. We told the Soviet Union then that we did not take its rejection as final, and that while we had some difficulty with aspects of the plan, we were willing to keep the channel open. We should soon know whether the Soviets are willing to explore this possibility, despite Mr. Gromyko's dismissal of it as "unacceptable" and "not serious" at his press conference on April 2.

The situation in the START talks is comparable, but not yet so far advanced. The United States' proposals would require a long step toward forces equal both in number and in destructive power—forces that would be capable of deterrence and retaliation, but not a pre-emptive first strike. The Soviet Union has thus far insisted on equal reductions, an approach that would preserve, perhaps even increase, the destabilizing Soviet advantage.

The Soviet approach to the problem of these two related talks is hardly surprising. The Soviet advantage in ground-based ballistic missiles was not achieved by accident. It cost the Soviet Union a great deal of money, and years of effort on the part of the most advanced sectors of its economy. That advantage will not be given up unless the alternatives present unacceptable risks. The implications of the fact that a brilliant Soviet ambassador, Yuri Kvitsinsky, joined Ambassador Paul H. Nitze in floating the Geneva trial balloon last July should be carefully explored.

V.

The fifth and final point follows, I believe, from the other four. It is that the so-called arms race, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, is not the cause but a symptom of the breakdown in world public order that has become palpable in recent years. The state system is crumbling toward anarchy, as the secretary general of the United Nations has rightly warned. In every part of the globe, states feel themselves to be in mortal peril. Under these circumstances there can be no significant progress in arms control and disarmament without comparable progress in containment and collective security.

The modern state system emerged from the moral and intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, and from the last two centuries' experience with war. Its dominant idea is that the strongest states have a special responsibility for keeping the peace. The Congress of Vienna and its aftermath in the diplomacy of the Victorian age proved to be both creative and important in shaping the state system and establishing its basic rules. But the Vienna system failed tragically in 1914. The men who met at Versailles in 1919 tried to re-create it through the League of Nations, but their effort lacked conviction and power, and collapsed within a few years. After the Second World War, humanity's yearning for peace expressed itself again, this time in San Francisco through the conference that adopted the United Nations Charter. And again, as in 1919, the reconstruction of world public order was built upon the past, but also upon an appreciation of what had gone wrong. In 1945, Western opinion was convinced that if only the great powers had enforced the rules of the League of Nations Covenant against aggression in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, and the Rhineland, the Second World War could never have taken place. Therefore Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter categorically condemns the international use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a state, except where justified by the "inherent" right of individual or collective self-defense. To enforce these rules is the chief function of the Security Council, which, on paper at least, has far more authority than any institution of the League. Its nominal power recalls that which Palmerston, Disraeli, and Bismarck exercised in fact during some of the diplomatic congresses of the nineteenth century: the power to guide, direct, limit, cajole, conciliate, and, if necessary, to command and to dispose of controversies that threatened the peace.

It would have been difficult to fulfill the hopes of the Charter even if the great powers had remained together after 1945. The old state system has tenacious habits of aggressive warfare, after all, and the end of Western European imperialism has given those habits new opportunities. But the great powers did not remain together after 1945, and moments of consensus among them have been rare. The root of the matter is that the Soviet Union has never accepted Article 2 (4) of the Charter as applicable to it.

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From the beginning of the Charter era, the Soviet Union has claimed for itself —and only for itself—the privilege of using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states that are not governed by socialist regimes, and indeed of using force even against socialist states if they are under the control of socialist heretics, revisionists, or schismatics, or if they show dangerous signs of backsliding to democracy. The Soviet Union has refused to recognize the right of its own peoples to self-determination, on a most curious ground. Soviet writers solemnly declare that no people that has had an opportunity to belong to the Soviet empire could conceivably elect to withdraw from it. Therefore, they conclude, any peoples in the Soviet empire or under its protection that flirt with the notion of freedom are either mad or the victims of capitalist conspiracy or both, and have to be protected from themselves. This principle is being applied today in Poland, as it was applied yesterday in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, and the Baltic states.

When pressed, Soviet diplomats or scholars say that for the Motherland of Socialism to obey Article 2 (4) would be to give up its nature as a society and as a state. To this, the only answer an American can give is that the Soviet Union can preach the gospel of Communism to its heart's content, but that in the nature of the state system, it cannot be allowed to propagate its faith with a sword.

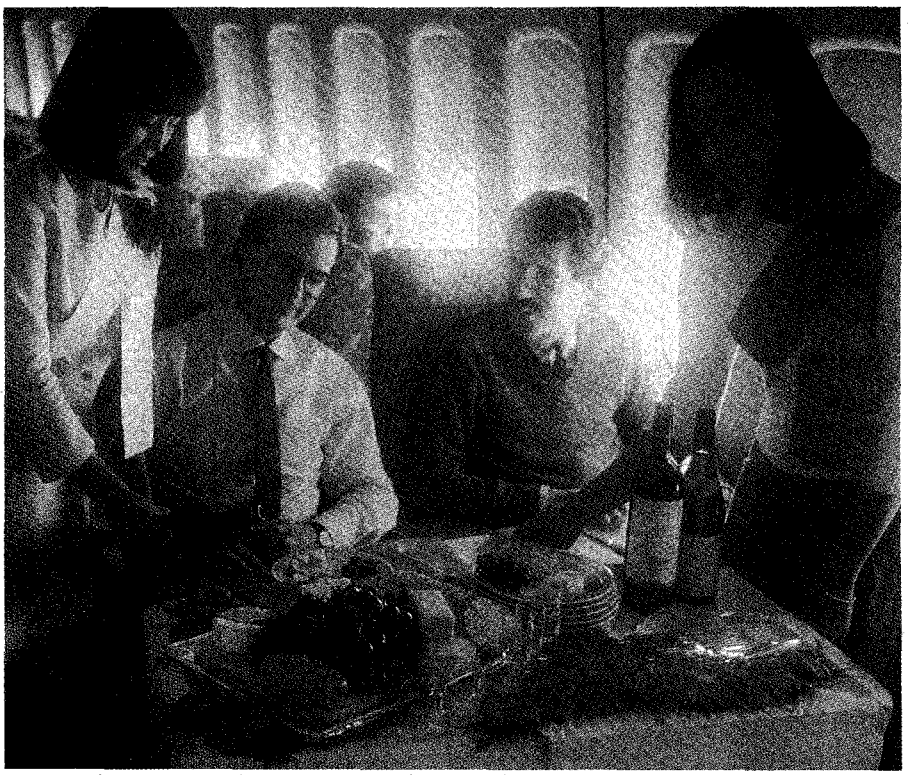
This answer, I believe, defines the context of the arms-control negotiations, and constitutes their ultimate agenda. The Charter's rules against the international use of force cannot survive much longer as effective norms unless they are respected equally by both sides. Unless the Soviet Union decides to abide by those rules, they will cease to control the behavior of the United States and its allies. This is not an outcome the West desires. We know that the enforcement of the Charter rules is in the equal interest of every state. They are neutral principles: rules against international aggressive war, not rules in defense of reaction or the status quo, or rules against revolution. They reflect the necessities of inter-state relations in a world that is becoming smaller, more interdependent, and more dangerous with every passing year. We know as well that conventional war may well escalate to the nuclear level, given the stress and passion which are normal to the phenomenon of war, and that these same forces could easily transform limited into unlimited nuclear war.

In short, the nightmare of nuclear war should persuade all the nations, including the Soviet Union, that peace really is indivisible (in the phrase of a Soviet foreign minister of forty years ago), and that the nominal rules of international law against conventional war should be respected by both sides and enforced for everyone. This, I am convinced, is the only way to exorcise the specter of nuclear war. And I am comforted that the statement of the American Catholic bishops on nuclear war, with which I disagree at a number of points, fully embraces this fundamental truth.

Is there a chance that the nations will take this course, as they recoil from the visible nightmare of anarchy and nuclear war?

I am an optimist on these matters. not because I believe that the Soviet Union is likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called a "great awakening," or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus, but because I am inclined to believe that man's instinct for self-preservation will in the end save us from suicide. The imperatives for survival in the nuclear age require the Western nations to restore the effectiveness of the policy of containment. The same imperatives decree the end of the Soviet Union's sour adventures in imperialism, and compel its acceptance, finally, of the rules of world public order that purport to govern everyone else. Those rules correspond to the nature of states and the necessities of the state system, and constitute the only possible definition of the slippery word "détente."

Nearly a century ago, Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, thought that dynamite was so destructive that it would force mankind to accept peace. His prediction turned out to be wrong. But can we expect the horror of the nuclear weapon to fulfill Nobel's dream? If we are reasonable, and lucky, I believe we can. In any event, we have no alternative but to try. □



At last, on Thai. Something that isn't quite first class.

It's Royal Executive Class direct from Dallas/Fort Worth and Seattle to Tokyo and Bangkok. The two-by-two seating and Royal Orchid service transcend first class on most airlines. But the fare isn't even close. Thai

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The Optimum Shape

Researchers at the General Motors Research Laboratories have developed the first integrated system for computer design of mechanical parts with minimum mass. Optimal Shape Generation automatically optimizes the component shape in a single computer run.

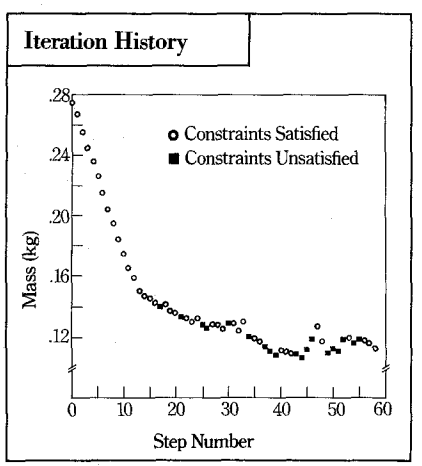
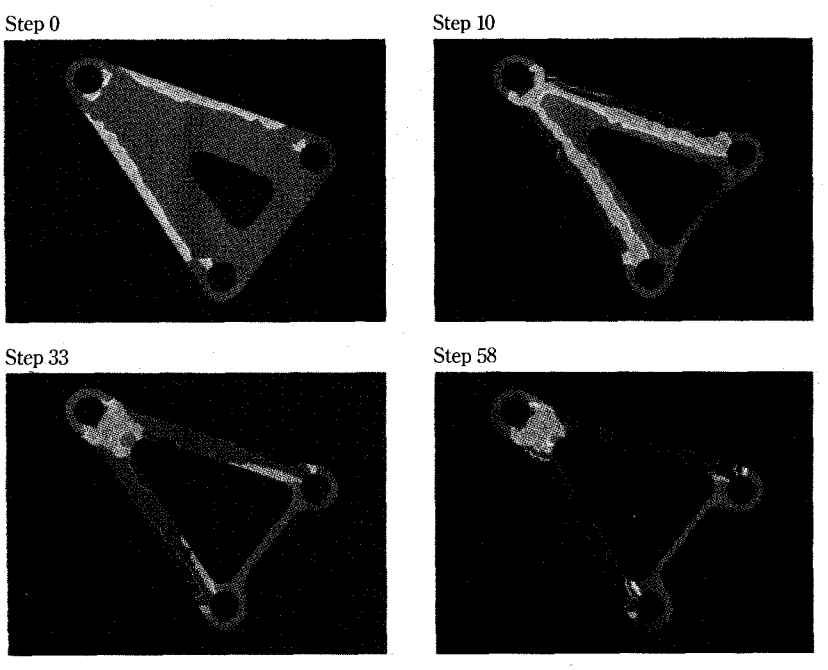


Figure 1: Decreasing mass plotted as a function of design iterations for the component shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Shapes as they appear on the CRT screen in the design of a minimum mass automotive component capable of performing under the structural loads. Color changes indicate (blue→yellow→green→red) increasing stress levels within the design limits.



COMPUTER-AIDED design systems automate the processes of generating geometric data and engineering drawings of parts, but they do not determine whether these parts meet structural performance requirements. In an ongoing research project at the General Motors Research Laboratories, a system has been developed that automatically ensures that the design meets structural performance constraints. More important, Optimal Shape Generation provides the component shape with the minimum mass capable of satisfying structural demands in a single computer run, without requiring human interaction with the machine.

In the last two decades, extensive research has been done in the area of computer design of structural components. Most of this work has focused on individual aspects of the process. Drs. Jim Bennett and Mark Botkin have succeeded in integrating the process from description of the model through convergence to the optimum solution.

Conventional systems continue distinctions characteristic of age-old "build and test" methods by separating the tasks of design generation and design analysis. Typically, a "designer" uses one computer system to produce engineering drawings of a given part. The task then shifts to an "evaluator" who creates a mathematical model with which to test the design on another computer system. The evaluator determines only whether or not the design meets the requirements. A lengthy interaction between the designer and the evaluator is required to optimize the design. Optimal Shape Generation integrates the process from design generation through design optimization. The system can generate the mathematical model from the design data as the shape changes without requiring additional input, thereby turning the process from a multiperson, multimachine operation into a one-person, one-machine operation.

Since there is no interaction beyond the initial input, a flexible description of the problem is crucial to effective use of the system. The researchers responded to this challenge by developing a geometric format based on a parametric description of the boundary. Defining the problem with geometric data is desirable because it describes the shape of the part in a

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form directly suitable for conceptual visualization.

Because the boundary geometric description must be transformed into an analysis model not once but several times, some type of automatic finite element mesh generation is required. The researchers adapted a mesh generation technique which divides a closed region into triangular elements based on a discrete description of the boundary. The sizes of the elements of the mesh are determined by a characteristic length selected for each problem and are related to the need for accurately describing the geometry. Automatic triangulation is used to create a set of connectivities for the discrete points placed uniformly throughout the part's interior with approximately the same density as the boundary points. The combination of boundary data description and automatic mesh generation permits the system to accommodate major changes in shape from the initial design.

ADEQUACY of the triangular meshes to calculate accurate stress levels was next addressed by the development of an adaptive mesh refinement scheme. By evaluating the solution for the uniform mesh created by the choice of characteristic length and identifying areas where the strain energy density changes rapidly, the system selects the areas of the mesh that require mesh refinement. These refinements can take the form of either adding elements in the area to be refined or increasing the order of the finite element polynomial interpolation. The former approach has been taken, because it can be implemented automatically and does not require the formulation of new finite elements.

The culmination of the process introduces an optimization routine which directs the design toward a minimum mass configuration. A mathematical optimization technique is used to change the design to that shape giving minimum mass within the structural constraints. This optimization technique is based upon a sequential first-order Taylor series approximation of the constraints and a feasible directions solution of the problem. Periodic mesh refinements are performed throughout the optimization, since the design is continually changing, and the system must predict the stresses and the behavior of the constraints as the design changes.

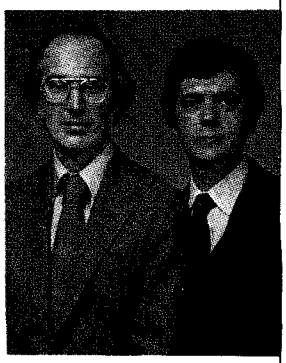
"By taking an integrated approach," says Dr. Bennett, "we're able to combine the objectives of reducing the mass of the material and meeting structural performance requirements in a single automatic system."

"We expect," adds Dr. Botkin, "that in the future this technique will become the standard way of designing structural components."

General Motors

GM

MARK OF EXCELLENCE



THE MEN BEHIND THE WORK

Drs. Jim Bennett and Mark Botkin are members of the Engineering Mechanics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Bennett holds the title of Assistant Department Head. He attended the University of Michigan as an undergraduate and received his graduate degrees from the same institution in the field of aerospace engineering. His Ph.D. thesis concerned non-linear vibrations. Before coming to General Motors in 1973, he taught aeronautical and astronautical engineering at the University of Illinois.

Dr. Botkin is a Staff Research Engineer. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Missouri at Rolla. His graduate work was in the field of civil engineering, and his doctoral thesis concerned structural optimization. Prior to joining General Motors in 1978, he worked for four years as a consultant to computer applications engineers.

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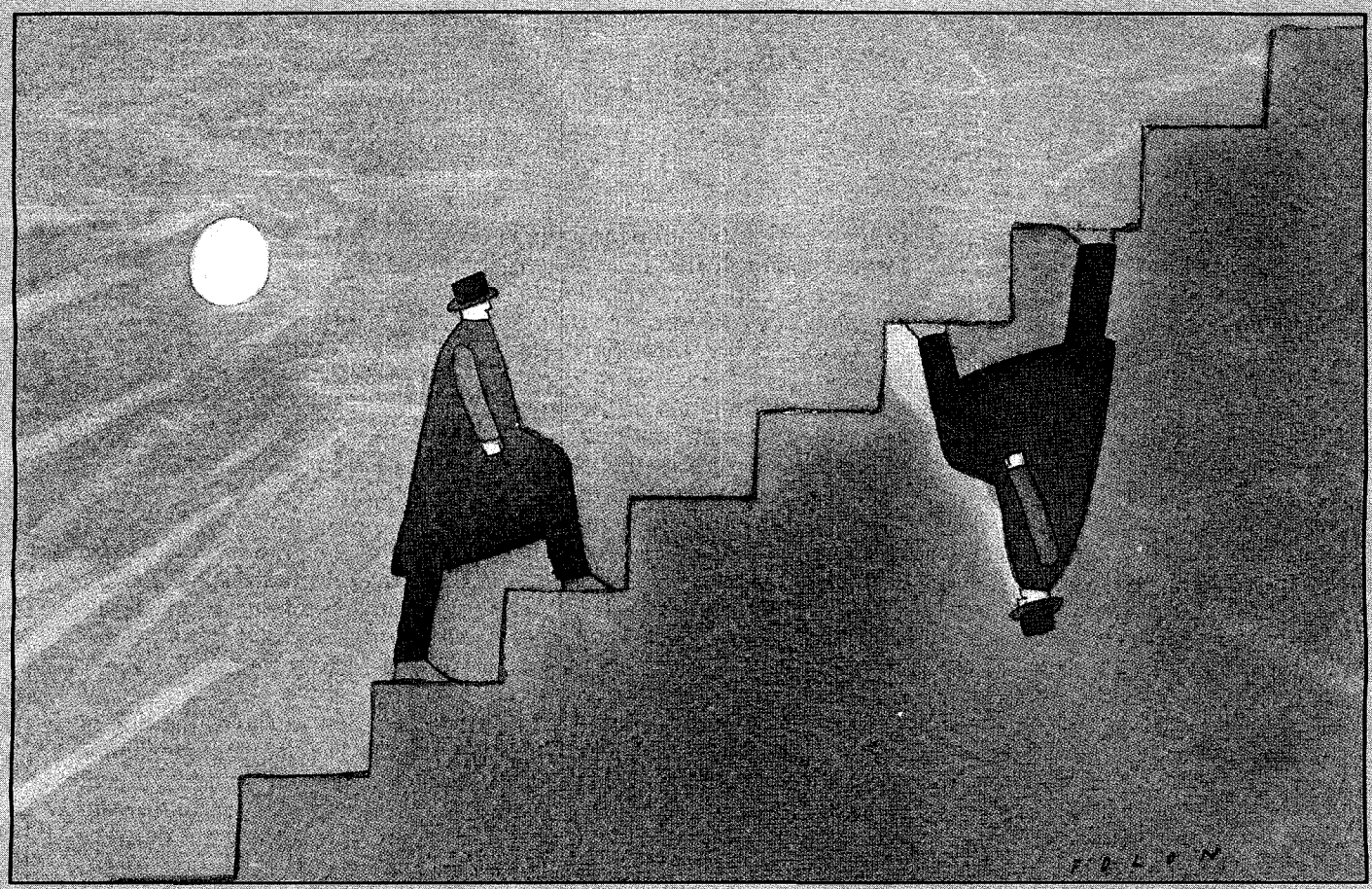
THE ELECTRICAL AGE
Rebirth or Retreat?



Over the years, America has become more and more electrified. But today a critical question is being asked: in the future, will the importance of electricity increase or diminish? The answer to this question is critical to our country's future.

Are we using less or more?

Since the oil embargo of 1973, Americans have cut back on virtually all non-electric forms of energy. The direct use of oil and natural gas has dropped, and even the direct burning of coal has declined.

At the same time, though, use of electric power has actually *risen* by over 20 percent. While this increase is considerably less than in earlier decades, it continues a definite trend. America is shifting away from direct fuels and toward electricity.

About 90 percent of all the new energy we have added since 1973 has been used to generate electric power. And while the country now has an adequate supply of electricity, the question is, will that supply continue to be adequate? The answer depends heavily on what happens to our economy.

As the economy begins to turn around, use of electricity will very likely increase. Every increase in our GNP has been accompanied by an increase in electricity demand. Even if the increase is small compared to previous decades, say 2 percent per year, that would still result in a 50 percent increase in the need for electricity over the next 20 years. To supply that amount, we would have to build the equivalent of around 300 large generating stations.

Some say a 2 percent per year increase is very conservative, but some say it is high. They feel that 1 percent may be more reasonable, based on recent history, current economic growth rates, and an interesting theory. The theory is that industry, the largest user of electricity, won't need as much electricity as it once did because America is turning from a high-energy industrial society to a low-energy informational society.

This theory is based on a number of assumptions that may be open to question. Can we assume that Americans are prepared to turn the majority of energy-intensive industries over to foreign competition? And can we assume that Americans will abandon their love for innovation and their desire for more comfortable, mobile, and productive lives?

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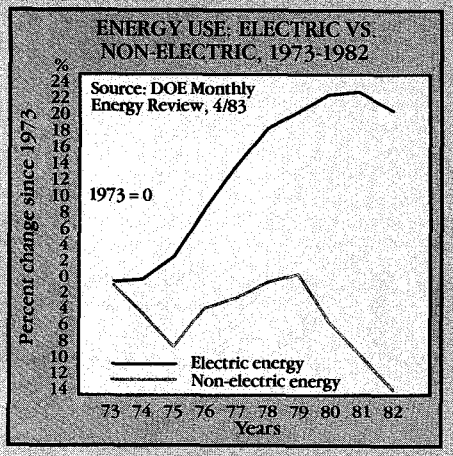
ENERGY USE: ELECTRIC VS. NON-ELECTRIC, 1973-1982
Source: DOE Monthly Energy Review, 4/83
1973 = 0
Electric energy
Non-electric energy
Percent change since 1973
%
24 22 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14
73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Years

Although overall energy use has dropped over the past decade, the demand for electricity has increased over 20%. Electricity use has historically paralleled the nation's GNP; the recent drop in electricity use is largely due to the recession. Many observers believe that as the economy recovers, demand for electricity will continue its upward trend.

Is the electrified future coming?

The forecasts of the 50's underestimated the amount of electricity needed to operate television in the 80's by 75 percent because of unforeseen innovation and behavior.

Though transistors use less electricity, the introduction of color, plus the use of multiple sets in the home and greatly increased viewing time, more than made up the difference.

Central heating and air conditioning, once considered luxuries, are now perceived necessities. Fifty percent of all new housing in America is electrically heated. Climate-controlled domed sports stadiums and shopping malls that once were found only in the humid South are rising all over the country.

Homes are becoming electronic centers as new entertainment and personal computer products flourish. But it is the rise in popularity of electricity as the cleanest method of home heating that could have the greatest effect on residential electricity demand in the years ahead.

People-moving is becoming more and more electrified. Electrified "bullet" trains between large cities are already in use in France, Germany, and Japan. San Diego has begun planning for one already and Texas and Florida are also looking into electrical people-movers.

New industrial electrical applications are coming on line in steel melting and other metal production industries, materials-cutting, glass-making, finishes, computer control, the manufacture of paper, textiles, and chemicals, and in robotics and lasers.

Home computers, video games, tapes, disks and cassettes are turning living rooms into electrified home entertainment centers.

Even farming is becoming more electrified with climate-controlled stock raising, pump-powered irrigation and increased electrical use in processing and storing farm products.

Electrified "bullet" trains, like this one in Japan, will greatly speed trips between U.S. cities. One is planned to run between Los Angeles and San Diego by the end of this decade. Cruising at up to 160 miles per hour, it would cut commuting time in half for its estimated 100,000 passengers per day.

America *is* becoming more and more electrified. As it does, a reliable supply of electricity will be even more important than it is now. And in a world where energy sources are becoming harder and harder to come by, which ones can we rely upon to generate the amount of electricity we'll need?

Sources we can count on today

While a temporary glut has taken the price down, oil is still neither an economical nor a secure source for making electricity. Most experts agree oil will become more and more expensive in the future. We've already seen how unpredictable the supply of foreign oil can be.

Natural gas is another depletable, finite energy source, and although recent estimates indicate that more may exist than was previously thought, it is uncertain at what cost it would be recoverable. Both oil and natural gas are also valuable for uses other than burning in power plants.

Virtually all hydroelectric sites have been developed, and electricity from solar is yet to be made practical and affordable for broad-scale application.

Coal and nuclear electricity are our best options. The U.S. contains enough coal to last hundreds of years. But coal can't do the job alone.

Coal's partner is nuclear power, which is close to becoming second only to coal in generating electricity for the U.S. While concerns and fears exist about nuclear plant operations and waste management, positive strides have been and are continuing to be made. The industry has displayed initiative in overcoming and preventing problems during its 26 years of plant operations. A supportive Administration and positive legislation, such as the 1982 Nuclear Waste Policy Act, are also helping to ensure that nuclear energy can continue to provide the electricity America needs.

Along with coal and nuclear electricity, conservation will also play a vital part. Conservation not only in the way we use energy, but also in the way we build and design and create the things that will need energy to keep them going.

America *is* turning around. The economy *is* recovering. The future holds immense promise. Tomorrow *can* be as bright as it seems if we use today's energy wisely.

If you'd like more information about the electrical future of America and the energy sources that will help fuel it, just fill out this coupon and send it to:

U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness
P.O. Box 37012
Washington, D.C. 20013

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

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Information about energy America can count on today

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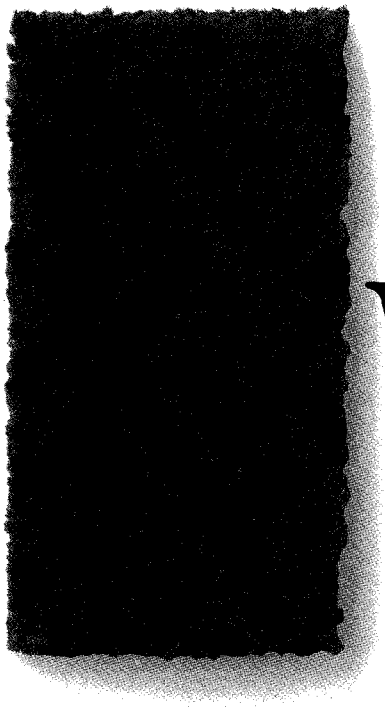

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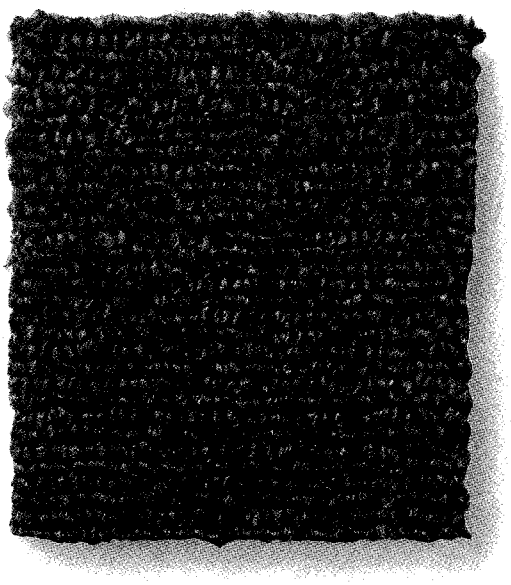

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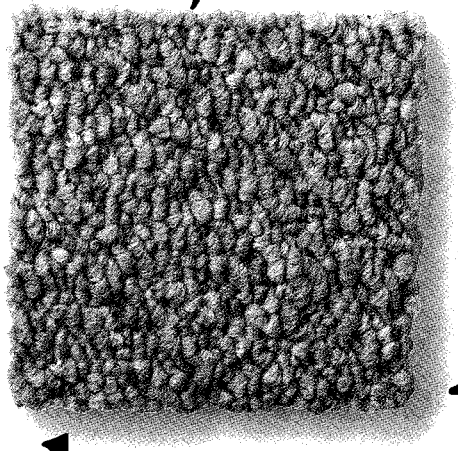

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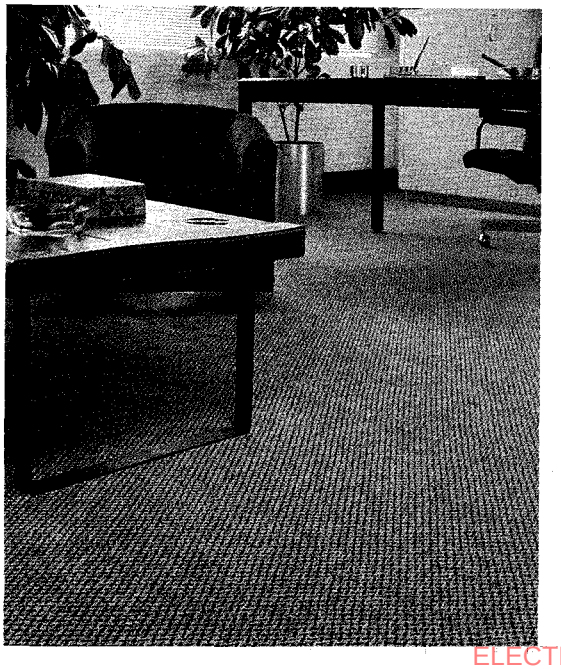

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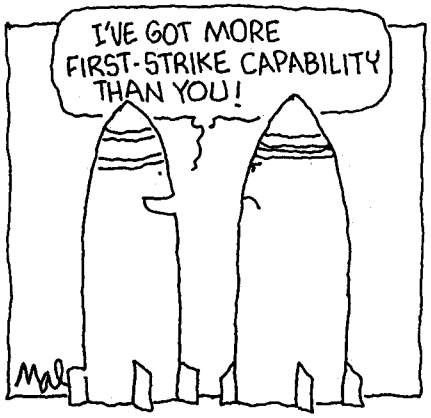

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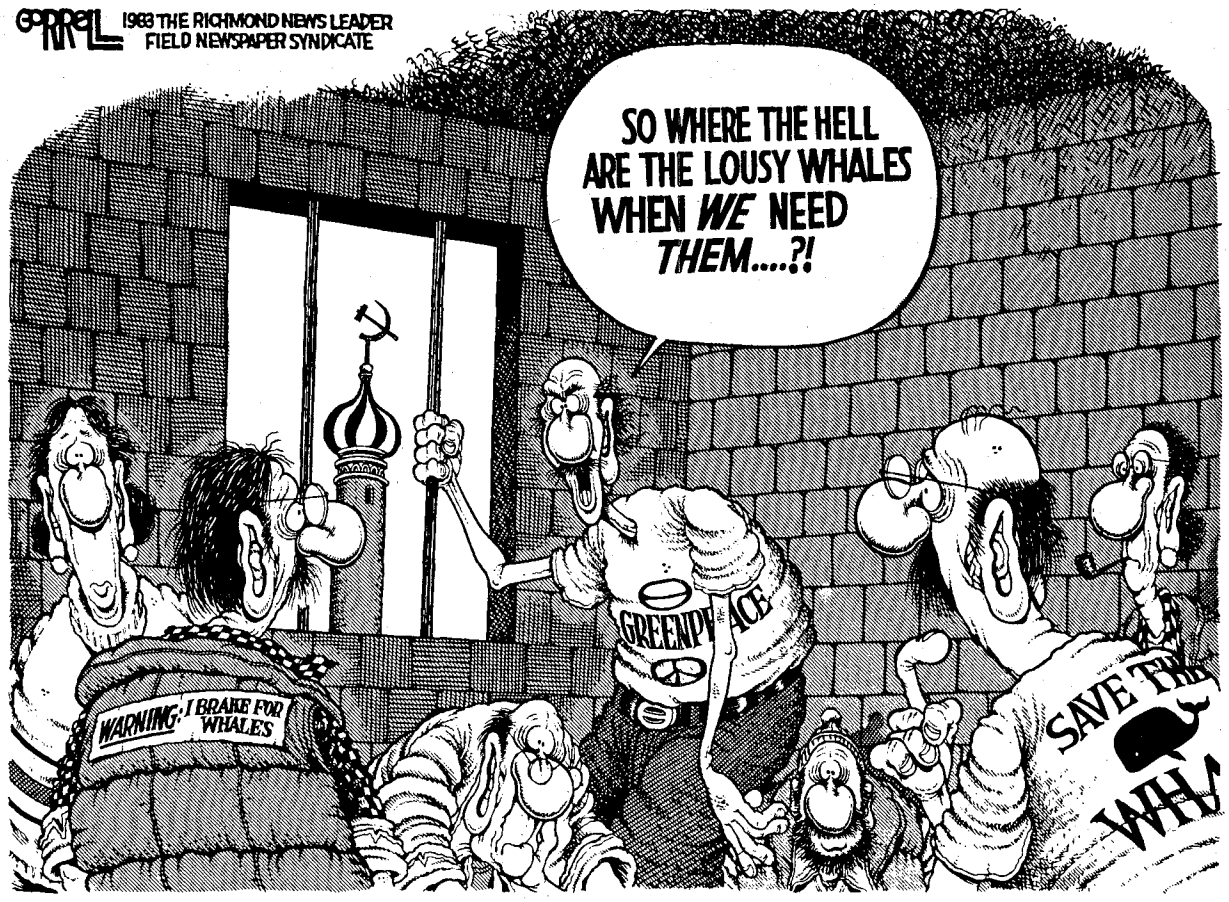
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And tankers are denied the route,
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THE CAPITALIST WAY

Taiwan's 'miracle' was in fact the result of hard work, a good highway and railroad network, and a foundation of sound Lockean philosophy. It's a combination Peking has not been able to beat

Miracle on Taiwan

RALPH de TOLEDANO

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA (ROC) has the distinction of being the only country in the Far East that has fully adopted a Lockean, anti-mercantilist philosophy—the philosophy that made America great, and that now guarantees the prosperity and domestic tranquillity of Taiwan's hard-working and energetic people. The United States may ignore it officially, but the Republic of China on Taiwan is a symbol and a fulfillment.

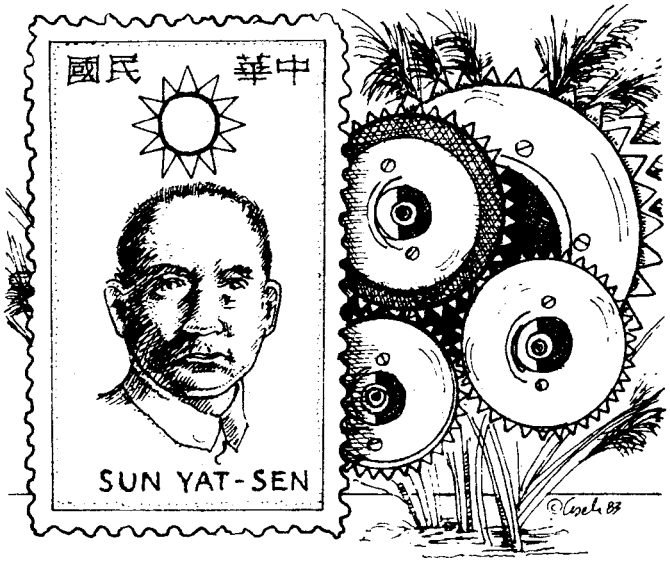
It is the easy pronouncement that a miracle, both political and economic, has found its locus in the ROC on Taiwan. A stable government and society, the second highest per-capita income in Southeast Asia, and, even in a period of world recession, an unemployment rate of 2.3 per cent and an export-import mix of 52 to 48 have led to sober projections that, by the 1990s, the ROC will have one of the most solid industrial economies in the world. The threat from the Communist-held mainland is now diplomatic, not military. And though political setbacks have marked its more recent history, the ROC is increasing trade relations with some 150 other countries, including many that do not recognize it.

In 1949, when President Chiang Kai-shek moved the Chinese government, its military forces, and more than 1.5 million people from the mainland to Taiwan, few would have predicted that the ROC would survive, much less prosper. A Communist invasion of Taiwan, the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, and the Pescadores—all that remained of Nationalist China—seemed imminent. Taiwan had almost no natural resources—some coal, some natural gas. The island's economy was predominantly agricultural and presumably unable to support the large military forces necessary to defeat a Communist invasion. Inflation was rampaging at a rate well in excess of 3,000 per cent. The population, though almost completely of Chinese ethnicity, was disaffected—the result in large part of the corruption and stupidity of the Kuomintang administrators who had taken over from Japanese colonialists in 1945. The central government, after almost two decades of war with Japan and the Communists, was in disarray.

Yet the miracle occurred. And it occurred, paradoxically, because of these negative elements. Chiang and the astute men around him had to begin from scratch, armed only with their determination and the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen. They were aided by an excellent existing infrastructure of highways and railroads lacing the island, which helped to shape economic development, and the U.S. foreign-aid program that was launched after the Korean War—aid that was employed for the most part to reduce the ravening inflation. But basically, Chiang Kai-shek and his advisors had only themselves—and the conviction that a modified free-enterprise economy was the only way the ROC could hope to become strong enough for a return to the mainland.

The immediate problem, however, was survival—how to create an economy that would support a large military establishment while increasing agricultural productivity and developing a sound industrial base. Until the Korean War changed America's strategic thinking, moreover, Chiang could not count on any significant support from a United States that, immediately before the move to Taiwan, had considered its obligations fulfilled by shipping him barbed wire and destroying ammunition dumps on the mainland.

Chiang and his men realized that the first two programs to be set in motion, if an average per-capita income of $70 (U.S.) was to be increased, would have to be land reform and import substitution. Land reform, attempted in almost every developing country, has usually been a signal failure. On Taiwan, it was a signal success. A series of measures reduced land rent—then 50 per cent of anticipated harvest—and replaced oral leases with written ones. Public lands were sold to farmers in acreage sufficient to support a family of six. The sale of private lands to tenants on reasonable



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terms reduced tenancy from 39 per cent to 15 per cent—and by 1968 tenancy had fallen to 10 per cent. The sale was financed by compensating landowners with shares of industries seized from the Japanese. The resulting increase in agricultural productivity had a double effect. It raised the standard of living and created a pool of cheap labor that could move into the industrial sector.

Import substitution, meanwhile—designed to make Taiwan self-sustaining and free it from the drain of imports—though justified at the time, proved to be a stop-gap measure. Its very success doomed it, for, with a small population, production was bound to exceed the demand of the internal market. The need was for export substitution, which would balance imports and open up Taiwanese production for a world market.

This was the road England had taken during its Industrial Revolution, and it was the road that the ROC was to take, with results that surprised the world, and perhaps the Chinese themselves. Unlike England's, however, Taiwan's development could not be evolutionary and organic. The sudden influx of mainland Chinese had in one year pushed the population from some six million to roughly eight million—nearly a third more. Land reform might help to feed the island, but work had to be provided.

The central government had to pull itself up by its bootstraps, industrially speaking, and it did so dramatically. The gross figures for 1975 give but a small idea of what was achieved. The industrial share of net domestic product more than doubled. Industrial employment almost tripled—and this was only a beginning. Exports of industrial products increased from 8 to 84 per cent as the economy shifted from mining and food processing to textiles, light machinery, and electronics. Significantly, public-sector ownership of industry fell from more than 50 per cent to some 16 per cent. When it is recalled that World War II bombing had put three-quarters of existing industrial capacity, two-thirds of power production, and half of transport out of commission, the significance of these figures becomes apparent.

In the early stages, as I have noted, Taiwan's industrial drive was focused on import substitution—that is, the production of goods for internal consumption. Total industrial production, comparable in 1951 to what it had been under the Japanese in the pre-war years, had doubled by 1954, with import substitution accounting for almost all of that rise. By 1957 the proportion of consumer goods imported had fallen from 19.8 to 6.6 per cent. During this period, moreover, the government poured much of its limited resources into broadening the transportation base, thereby opening the entire island to industrial diversification and preventing the unhealthy clustering of industry around the capital, Taipei. Industry, in short, moved out to its labor sources rather than vice versa.

To the same end, the government developed power resources throughout the island, looking at future rather than immediate needs, and enforced uniform urban/rural rates. Management training and technical assistance were provided through technological and investment institutes. And, with a wisdom seldom seen in developing economies, the government eschewed fancy but impractical large-scale projects, choosing instead to invest in encouraging the country's infant business enterprises.

Agriculture and industry became entwined, with fewer than half the farm households fully engaged in farming

Import substitution, with its attendant tariffs and other trade restrictions, is a dead end for a country of limited area and population. With a small internal market for industrial products, increased productivity results in economic stagnation. No amount of restriction on free trade can compensate for consumer saturation. This was a lesson the ROC quickly learned, and it led to a marked relaxation of import controls, with Taiwan standing almost at the head of the class in anti-protectionism by the 1960s.

In order to continue the rise in per-capita income and economic growth, both government and industry realized, the ROC would have to become a heavy importer of raw materials that could then be exported as manufactured products—a realization that has come late or not at all to other developing countries. Taiwan's plentiful and relatively cheap labor force could then compete with other labor-intensive producers on the world market. The thought being father to the act, the Taiwanese economy shifted gears in a series of Four-Year Plans—interrupted by one ambitious Six-Year Plan, which was revised in mid-course when it became apparent that six years is too long a projection, particularly at a time when international economic crises and energy crunches are creating serious dislocations among industrial and industrializing nations. It should be noted that the shift in the focus and emphasis of the Taiwanese economy was not abrupt but a gradual cooperative effort by planners and industry.

By foresight, and some fortunate happenstance, Taiwan's industrialization was accomplished without the kind of urban concentration that afflicted the West during its industrial revolutions, and that plagues developing countries today. The foresight was in the government's enlargement of the transportation infrastructure. The happenstance was in what the economist Gustav Ranis has called the "dualistic nature" of the Taiwanese demography. Agriculture and industry became entwined, with fewer than half of the island's farm households fully engaged in farming. Of these, about a third engaged in both agricultural and industrial pursuits. The rest considered farming a sideline. In 1972, for example, farm families drew half their income from industrial work.

It is difficult to evaluate precisely how much of the miracle on Taiwan can be attributed to U.S. foreign aid. Over 17 years (the program was terminated in 1965), that foreign aid added up to $1.5 billion. Even in the early stages of U.S. economic aid, in the 1950s, it amounted to only 6 per cent of Taiwan's gross domestic product. Certainly it was a major factor in the monetary reform that reduced the island's astronomical inflation. And without that reduction, the survival of the Republic of China on Taiwan might have been impossible. Monetary reform brought real wages up

Mr. Toledano, who writes a column for NR *on recorded music, is a syndicated columnist based in Washington.*

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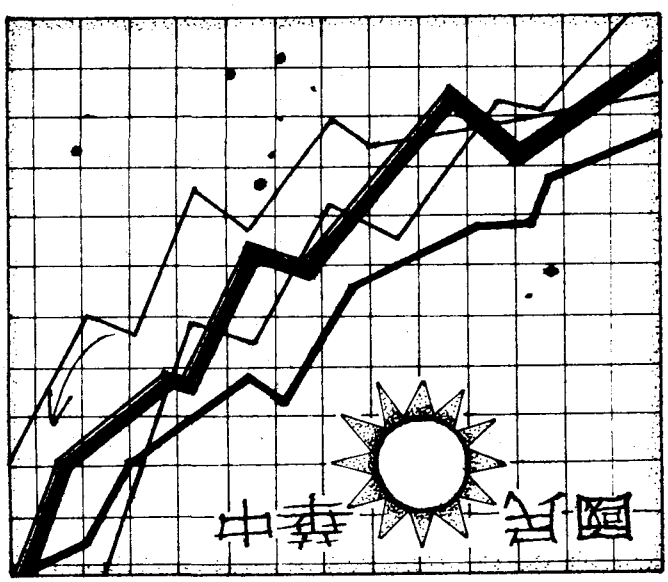
—a fact of tremendous political importance in a society that had to integrate a dubious native population with the influx of its cousins from the mainland.

The phenomenal growth of the Taiwanese economy, however, cannot be plotted on a steadily rising curve. Dislocations in the world economy during the early and mid-1970s were felt in Taiwan as well. International monetary crises forced a 5 per cent devaluation of the New Taiwan dollar, partly compensated for by the improvement in the trade balance with Japan. Worldwide inflation pushed up wholesale prices by a dramatic 23 per cent. Simultaneously, the beginning of labor shortages drove up manufacturing wages. But by 1976, despite a trend toward concealed protectionism in Western Europe, Japan, and the U.S., exports had resumed their markedly upward path.

There was an imbedded paradox here. For though country after country broke off formal relations with the ROC, commerce increased. As one commentator noted, "In many cases economic relations seem to have strengthened in the face of political estrangement." Shared self-interest, obviously, is stronger than political rhetoric. To export, Taiwan must import, and it has become a major market for many countries. An average increase in exports from Taiwan of 17 per cent was matched by an increase of 13 per cent in imports. A random sampling of Taiwan's imports showed that the island, with a population then approaching 18 million, was importing 40 per cent more than India with a population of 596 million, 80 per cent more than Indonesia (population, 128 million), and 300 per cent more than Pakistan (population, 68 million).

Looking back over the last three decades, the ROC could report an average annual economic growth rate of 8.2 per cent in the 1950s, 9.1 per cent in the 1960s, 10 per cent in the 1970s, and 5.5 per cent in the inflation-plagued year of 1981. The average annual rate of growth in per-capita GNP was 4.7 per cent in the 1950s, 6.2 per cent in the 1960s, 7.9 per cent in the 1970s, and 3.6 per cent in 1981. In 1961, exports accounted for 13 per cent of GNP, growing to 35 per cent in 1971 and 53.5 per cent in 1981. The corresponding figures for imports were 21 per cent, 32.5 per cent, and 52.3 per cent in 1961, 1971, and 1981, respectively. Significantly, capital formation as a percentage of gross domestic product was 20.1 per cent in 1961, 26.4 per cent in 1971, and 53.5 per cent in 1981. Industry, which had contributed 29.5 per cent of the GNP in 1961, reached the 50.5 per cent figure in 1981, whereas agriculture had dropped from 27.6 per cent to 7.4 per cent. Services remained relatively static at about 42 per cent.



Management of public finance might also be considered something of a miracle. Since 1964, the ROC has enjoyed an annual budget surplus—five billion New Taiwan dollars in fiscal 1981 alone. Roughly one-third of its expenditures were devoted to administration and defense, another third to economic development, and almost one-fifth to education. And the social indicators have been equally impressive. Between 1952 and 1981, the crude death rate fell from almost 10 per cent to less than 5 per cent. Life expectancy rose from 58.6 years to 71.5 years. The daily per-capita intake of calories increased substantially. Fifteen years ago, there were 8.7 TV sets for every hundred households. Today that figure has risen to 100.4—slightly more than one set per household.

What should be of great interest, and perhaps a source of consternation, to Keynesians and socialists is that the steady economic growth and the concomitant rise in income levels did not lead, as they would have confidently predicted, to an increase in the concentration of wealth, but rather to a remarkable increase in income distribution. Education and training, land reform, upward mobility, and a labor-intensive economy have done for the ROC what entitlements and income redistribution have done for the so-called advanced countries. Whereas in 1952 the income of the top 20 per cent of households was roughly 15 times that of the lowest 20 per cent, by 1980 the ratio was 4.2 to one.

The growth of the Taiwanese economy, however, was not the product of any psychological legerdemain or, as Huck Finn might have put it, "passing a miracle." The ROC's political and industrial leaders had seen what a vast and uncontrolled bureaucracy had done to the mainland economy in the years of war and Communist rebellion. Since most of the best brains on the island were American-educated and oriented toward free enterprise, their goal was to establish on a small island the same principles that had gradually transformed the United States from a small mercantilist society to the world's dominant economy. Taiwan had no great internal market or the advantages of unlimited real estate and population growth. But the Chinese on Taiwan saw the basics the same way, and they wanted no part of the socialism that had brought other postwar developing countries to stagnation or near-bankruptcy.

It is both interesting and significant that though the Chinese on Taiwan recognized the temporary need for government involvement, from the very start they sought to move away from a state-dominated or state-owned economy. As far back as the early 1950s, the government began the process of divesting itself of the four major enterprises it owned—the Taiwan Cement Corporation, the Taiwan Pulp and Paper Corporation, the Taiwan Industrial and Mining Corporation, and the Taiwan Agriculture and Forestry Development Corporation. The process was at first slow, if only because private capital and entrepreneurial skills were lacking. But the records show a steady decline in government ownership and intervention, though it continued in such areas as utilities, steel, shipbuilding, and transportation.

Later on, the government's major involvement, as it

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moved to shed its control over specific industries, was in monetary reform and education. By the early 1970s, almost every child on Taiwan had an elementary-school education, almost two-thirds had gone to high school or received vocational training, and higher education had been opened up, through low tuition fees, to all who qualified. This emphasis on education resulted in increased productivity and a rise in per-capita income, which in turn allowed a prosperous working class to provide better education for its children—a beneficent circle.

Looking back at the uncertainties and the hopes of 1953, when the first Four-Year Development Economic Plan was launched, what has been accomplished seems truly miraculous. Since then, the GNP has increased more than ten times, industrial production more than forty times, and import-export more than 130 times. While economic growth is stagnant in the United States, Taiwan is chalking up a 4 per cent growth rate—admittedly not the 8 per cent that its planners had estimated, but nevertheless more than adequate. Per-capita income, which was about $100 in 1949, has risen to roughly $2,500—the increase in the past year alone exceeds Communist China's present total per-capita income of less than $300. Though unemployment, at 2.3 per cent, is almost double the previous average, this is a temporary condition. Two-way trade with the U.S. stands at some $13 billion. Two-thirds of that is currently exports from Taiwan, but ROC purchasing missions are ranging the U.S. seeking to equalize the balance of trade. In 1981, Taiwan could point to an economy approaching the $50-billion mark, and exports of close to $23 billion. Like most of the industrial world, the island was hurt by the OPEC-imposed jump in oil prices. But its energy dependence on Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will decline drastically by the end of the century, when, according to current projections, 72 per cent of the island's needs will be supplied by nuclear power. The necessity of keeping half a million men under arms and out of the labor market is a drain, but not a serious one.

Though the State Department exudes gloom over the ROC's prospects, American investors do not. They have put almost $600 million into the Taiwanese economy—almost $200 million of that in 1981. An American industrialist who has recently expanded his petrochemical plant told *U.S. News & World Report*: "I don't know of any businessman from the United States who has serious worries about the Mainland threat." He reflects the view of other American investors who are convinced that the U.S. has too much at stake economically to sell the ROC for a mess of Communist verbiage.

But facts, figures, and opinions hardly tell the story. The quality of life visible to the most casual visitor to Taipei or the other bustling cities and towns of Taiwan is perhaps a far more accurate indicator. The prosperity is almost palpable: Shops and restaurants are crowded, there is movement everywhere, traffic jams and air pollution are becoming a problem. At Hsinchu, an hour from Taipei, on 5,200 acres (more than eight square miles), a high-technology complex is rising to rival California's Silicon Valley.

Though martial law technically still prevails, the power of the military has been taken over by civilians in government and by the engineers, the business community, and the technocrats. Ultimate power resides in the Kuomintang —the Nationalist Party—which since the late 1950s has opened its doors and those of government office to the Taiwanese—that is, the Chinese who were on the island when Chiang Kai-shek moved the government from the mainland. Today, it is estimated that 75 per cent of the Kuomintang is Taiwanese, and this has defused a potentially explosive situation. A genuine sense of national unity has been created. The Taiwanese are, in fact, more unalterably opposed to any *rapprochement* with the Communists than the former mainlanders who have dominated the island's government and culture.

The Republic of China is convinced that Communist China cannot mount a successful invasion of Taiwan

But what of the future? The people and government of the Republic of China look ahead with relaxed optimism. They foresee a strengthening of economic ties with the United States and a steady increase in foreign investment. They are convinced that Communist China cannot mount a successful invasion of Taiwan—lacking as the Communists do the modern air force, the landing craft, and the matériel to overcome the million and a half soldiers and reservists that the ROC could put into the field. They believe that a strong family-planning program will relieve the economic pressure of overpopulation. And having navigated the troubled international waters of the early 1980s, they are certain that even with a slow recovery from the worldwide recession their steady economic growth will continue.

Having moved from an import-substitution economy to an export-oriented economy with relatively little pain, the Taiwanese are now carefully shifting from labor-intensive industry to capital-intensive industry, a labor shortage having developed. Taking into account Taiwan's rate of savings, which has been exceeding 30 per cent of GNP (one of the highest in the world), Taiwan's economists predict that there will be no capital shortage to stunt economic growth. Under the Four-Year Plan 1982-85, a 5.3 per cent increase in labor productivity is projected. "Technical progress will be the key factor in Taiwan's future economic growth," an analysis of the plan notes. Emphasis will be placed on science and technology, with research and development expenditures doubled. By 1985, the plan foresees a per-capita GNP of $4,303 (in 1981 dollars).

It should be noted that the long catalogue of policies and measures envisioned in the new plan to strengthen the internal economy and to expand foreign trade rests squarely on the dictum of Premier Y. S. Sun that calls for "less government intervention and more private participation." For there can be no continuing miracle unless the Republic of China on Taiwan continues to approach, as much as is possible in a modern technological society, the kind of free-market economy that alone can guarantee the well-being of the people, both physical and spiritual.

That this fact should be recognized by a central government in this day and age is perhaps the greatest miracle of all. □

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IVY LEAGUE

The Anti-Nuke Campus Trail

DINESH D'SOUZA

THE *New York Times* described him as a "ruddy, silver-haired, grandfatherly figure." Dartmouth President David McLaughlin called him an "honored guest" and invited him to come back to the campus any time. The eight hundred students in the audience gave him an ovation, and local papers described him in warm, patriotic terms.

He was Oleg Troyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to the United Nations. Despite protests from the State Department, Dartmouth invited him to speak on March 3, 1983 as part of its three-month-long Ivy League Conference on the Threat of Nuclear War. There were a few protests—from the campus Hillel organization, for example, which is skeptical of Soviet policies toward Jews. But the general feeling was that Troyanovsky would add to the debate, and that it would be discourteous if not McCarthyite to refuse to let him speak.

Judging from the response, Ambassador Troyanovsky not only gave a fillip to the discussion, he also forged a consensus. "The Soviet Union has never sought nuclear superiority," he asserted, and students sighed with relief. The USSR and the U.S. have parity in both nuclear and conventional forces, he claimed; nobody challenged that. Moscow not only supports "a nuclear freeze," but also favors "total disarmament," he boasted, to general applause.

During a question-and-answer session Troyanovsky was asked about Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and Poland. The ambassador was offended. Afghanistan? The Soviets were invited to visit and "we finally acceded to that request." It was only reluctantly that the Soviets stayed, to rebuff "continuous incursions by Pakistanis." But American students should stop using double standards to judge Soviet behavior, Troyanovsky insisted. He compared the Soviet presence in Afghanistan (105,000 troops) to U.S. involvement in El Salvador (52 military advisors). And as for Poland: "What have we done with Poland? We have not meddled in Poland. If anyone has interfered it is the other side." You mean, sir, that the Soviets have no ties to the Jaruzelski regime? "We're friends, certainly." How about the puzzling coincidence that none of the "peace" activists in the Soviet Union are critical of a single Kremlin policy. "What is there to criticize?" Troyanovsky wanted to know.

There were a few stirrings of doubt among the audience at all of this, but in general, as the *New York Times* put it, the ambassador received "a cautious if somewhat sympathetic hearing." And a few were less cautious and more sympathetic—for example, the large-eyed Dartmouth girl who, nearly sobbing, said she just wanted to "apologize for what my government is doing" in the arms race. Troyanovsky nodded encouragingly; he knew, he understood.

Where Are the Hawks?

Dartmouth's Conference on Nuclear War was a major event last term for the eight schools of the Ivy League. Fifty-six delegates from the various colleges assembled in New Hampshire. A $1,000 prize was offered for the best assessment of nuclear weapons; it was awarded to a student who lamented the "post-war paranoia" that led to the hydrogen bomb. The official list of speakers ranged from Elise Boulding, noted pacifist and member of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, on the left; to Ambassador Troyanovsky and Father Robert Drinan in the center; to Alexander Haig on the right. But Haig had to drop out, and no one could be found to replace him as the token hawk.

Of course, the conference drew a certain amount of media attention. Speeches by Troyanovsky, Kurt Vonnegut, Father Drinan, and Professor Herbert York, a nuclear physicist and former U.S. ambassador to the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations, were dutifully reported in the national press. (The headline news was that they all deplored the arms race and favored a freeze.) But no attempt has been made to analyze the conference as a whole, or the hundreds of its kind that have been held and will be again in the fall on campuses across the country, in what may be the most concentrated effort to release student political adrenalin since the Vietnam War.

There's one catch: While every effort is being made to frighten students with the specter of nuclear devastation; this is simply not as immediate a threat as the prospect of being drafted was during Vietnam. Yet the intensity of student convictions about nuclear escalation should not be discounted. Students are naturally attracted by utopian ideas and find the grey world of nuclear deterrence immensely distasteful. So the tactic on the campuses is to mobilize this tendency quickly by launching an anti-nuclear blitzkrieg. There isn't much time before the 1984 election, after all, and if Reagan wins again it may as well be doomsday.

Over the last year, seminars on defense issues have been held at more than one hundred campuses. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation gave $161,000 to Harvard and MIT for a two-week faculty seminar on how to teach courses on nuclear weapons. The United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War has published a summary of 46 such courses offered at 37 colleges; these are taught, almost without exception, by avowed anti-nuclear activists. In addition to participating in the Ivy League Conference, the University of Pennsylvania also held a month-long convocation of its own last spring, Toward Preventing Nuclear War, which included speakers such as George McGovern, Paul Warnke, Jonas Salk, and UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

Anti-Nuke Blitzkrieg

Already the blitzkrieg is doing its work. Recently the trustees of New Hampshire College told the administration to "avoid investing in corporations which engage in the production or sale of components and technologies for nuclear warheads." This was in response to a student demonstration; academia remains paunchy and vulnerable as ever. Students at Notre Dame and Princeton voted overwhelmingly in favor of a nuclear freeze. Some 1,500 students and faculty at Stanford have signed petitions opposing nuclear-weapons-related research.

In order to give graduating seniors a

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good-bye dose of anti-nuclear rhetoric, Dartmouth devoted its Senior Symposium 1983 to the issue of arms control. On display in Baker Library were books such as *Megamurder*, *Nukespeak*, and *No Place to Hide*, along with hideous etchings of charred victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Copies of *The Progressive* and *Common Cause* were tacked up, but no pro-defense material was visible. At nearby Collis Center, a social gathering place, students were exposed to "The Unforgettable Fire," vivid pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki made available through the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation: bodies afloat in water, a mass cremation site, a woman carrying a dead baby.

Lop-Sided Panels

The Senior Symposium included three panel discussions, on the strategic, moral, and political aspects of the nuclear-arms race. Of the panelists and moderators, two were conservative—Jaclyn Davis, a special assistant to President Reagan, and Professor James Dougherty. Two others—Lieutenant General Harry Griffith of the U.S. Army and Philip Lawler of the American Catholic Conference—were billed as conservatives but ended up taking middle-of-the-road positions. The other 11 were unabashedly on the left.

Jaclyn Davis, on the panel considering strategic aspects of nuclear war, was articulate, but outnumbered. She called for "nuclear modernization," particularly of land-based strategic nuclear forces, and was promptly attacked by both Father Drinan and Thomas Powers, author of *Thinking about the Next War*. "We think of war as a solution to problems," Powers lamented, adding, without elaboration, that deterrence had been "proven ineffective." Father Drinan then took up the cudgels: "My fundamental theology is that you can never, under any circumstances, use a nuclear weapon"—a this-worldly theology if ever there was one. Father Drinan charged the Administration with "opposing every form of arms control." He accused people who ignore the nuclear issue of "betraying yourselves, betraying your country, and betraying the moral principles on which this country was founded." After that, all he could say was: "The nuclear freeze is the only game in town."

The moral discussion of nuclear war was dominated by Professor Dougherty, who skewered "the specious argument that the more we spend on the military the less national security we have." But Dougherty also was surrounded by hostile panelists, the most egregious being the moderator, Elise Boulding. She chastised Dougherty for saying a nuclear war would threaten *man*kind; although she also noted that, regrettably, women too had played a part in permitting the buildup.

The last panel, Political Perspectives on the Arms Race, included Anne Cahn of the Committee for National Security, a tough-sounding group that in fact supports unilateral reductions; Philip Lawler, who is usually resolute but astonished his opponents by saying he wouldn't oppose a nuclear freeze; Kathleen Sheekey, a lobbyist for Common Cause; Martin Sherwin, author of *A World Destroyed*; and Professor Eugene Lyons, the left-of-center moderator.

The closing speech was delivered by the novelist Kurt Vonnegut. He frustrated conference delegates who had repeatedly proclaimed the complexity of the nuclear issue; he said our nuclear specialists have the "minds of third-graders." Deterrence doesn't work, Vonnegut added; the world would have been at peace since World War II "even if our warheads had been filled with Hostess Twinkies and jelly beans." The students were titillated by this poetic afflatus.

Then there were some surprise visitors: delegates from the Soviet Peace Committee. This is an official Russian peace group, whose members are reported to be KGB officers and card-carrying Soviet propagandists. One delegate, Yuri Bandura, was identified by a local Russian professor as deputy editor-in-chief of *Izvestia*. Other delegates included an acting secretary general of the Soviet United Nations Association, a leading Soviet sociologist, a Russian Orthodox bishop, and a reporter for a Soviet fashion magazine.

The Russians came to New England at the invitation of Bridges for Peace, a group set up by the United Church of Christ in Vermont to establish "person-to-person contact" with Soviet citizens. The church offered to have its Soviet delegates speak at Dartmouth, as an extension of the Ivy League Conference; the college accepted. In response to charges that Soviet delegates were KGB agents Sherry Scott, a coordinator for Bridges for Peace, replied: "We need to acknowledge that a KGB agent is also a person, a person with parents, possibly siblings, and children. Let us bridge the gap of difference by strengthening our similarities."

Brian Morton of the State Department warned, "The people who are coming represent the officially sanctioned Soviet viewpoint of the peace movement." But this didn't faze anybody for one simple reason: The Soviet view of the peace movement was exactly the peace movement's view of itself. Both aligned themselves squarely against rash U.S. arms-building. College officials and local "peace" activists were obsequious to the Russians, apologizing for American conduct and applauding their every statement. Even Bishop Aleksandr Zavgordony's assertion, "People in Russia don't criticize our government because the policies of our government coincide with the wishes of the people," failed to draw protest.

Christians 4, Lions 27

Is this any way to run a conference that purports to be objective? It was time to ask Sharon Harnish, the coordinator of the program. She was astonished at the suggestion of partisan politics. "We're trying to present both sides of the issue," she said sternly. True, but one side was presented 27 times, and the other side four times (and two of those a bit waffly). At this point Mrs. Harnish became defensive. "I found it very difficult to find people to speak in favor of deterrence." Oh, let's be serious. Okay, Mrs. Harnish said hastily: The political slant of the conference "reflects the views of the general population." She had no polls to prove this. But it is a curious principle: The purpose of the program was to help students understand nuclear issues and form their own opinions; yet the speakers selected merely represented and reinforced the initial student preference on nuclear weapons.

So the show goes on at American campuses, and there may not be much that can be done to stop it, since the Left is intricately wired into college circuits. What is occurring is a radical manipulation of moderate and nonpolitical students by activists whose labels none dare read for fear of being called McCarthyite. □

Mr. D'Souza is editor of Prospect *magazine at Princeton. He was formerly chairman of* The Dartmouth Review.

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At Home With . . .

William F. Rickenbacker

The Latin Hour

I HAD KNOWN Hawk's father, Corwith Cramer, the illustrious navigator and yachtsman, since our school days together from 1939 to 1945. I first met his mother, Ada, in 1968 and first saw him in 1974 when he was scarcely more than a toddler. Time passed, life unfolded in its unforeseeable way, and in 1980 Ada and I were married and Hawk became, with his older brother, Willie, a stepson—the youngest of the four fine boys in my life. And he also became, for that one priceless year before he went away to school, my Latin student.

How it happened that Hawk desired to be tutored in Latin before going to St. George's is another story. Our story starts here, as it started each evening at exactly six o'clock during that year, with Hawk searching me out at whatever I was doing at the moment—something with the typewriter, or the piano, or the newspapers—and announcing: "Bill! Time for Latin!"

'M' Is for Mother

We would settle at the kitchen table, knee to knee, and Ada would listen as she prepared supper, which would be scheduled for seven o'clock. Ada speaks gorgeous Spanish and is fluent in French and German, but somehow she skipped Latin in her schooling, and so she enjoyed auditing (*audio audire*) the sessions. Now Latin is not beanbag: Latin makes demands. And demands are something that a stepfather cannot make. But love is contagious, and I thought I would draw such a big circle around my love for languages (I am thinking of Emily Dickinson's poem) that Hawk could not fail to be involved. So we started with a blank piece of paper and I took a stub of a pencil and drew a lumpy map of Europe and said that's where the Indo-European tribe was a few hundred thousand years ago and one thing led to another and they settled some offshoots—you know how it is, kids don't want to live with their parents forever—in other places and time passed and they started talking local talk, like the East Boston accent and the Brooklynese you hear on the teevee, but certain things remained constant, like the *m-m-m* sound you get when you imitate the action of sucking, which is the first action by which infants learn to know their mothers, and IT IS NO ACCIDENT that the word for "mother" in all the languages in all the backwaters on this whole sheet of paper has an *m* in it, yea, brethren, even the Hebrew, and the same sort of thing must have happened when the men were hunting and one spied an animal and wanted his colleague to be quiet and he said something like "shhh" or "ssst," with the result that the "s" and "t" are found together in all words of all languages in that group when the meaning has to do with standing still, staying stock still, resting stably, and . . .

"Time for supper," says Ada.

"Is it seven already?"

"It's seven-thirty."

The next session, as I remember, took up the map of Europe after the Romans had expanded their empire to the limits, and, reading a bit from the opening pages of Mario Pei's lovely history of the Latin language, I was able to expose the Latin foundation of just about everything we hold to be important in cultural matters. Latin was to be the shortcut to all languages and philosophies. The young, who think they will die next week and therefore are always in a hurry, are always in need of shortcuts. Latin is great for that. Seven languages for the price of one.

So, all fired up, we dig in. We use the finest text I have ever come across in the dozen languages I have worked with: Wheelock. This is Latin without Caesar, whose works, says Wheelock, "were studiously avoided because there is a growing opinion that Caesar's military tyranny over the first two years is infelicitous, intolerable, and deleterious to the cause." Instead the readings are from the orators and the philosophers and the Vulgate and the poets. And the very first lesson provides opportunity for genuine translation rather than mere dictionary-processing.

Labor me vocat. "Labor calls me," says Hawk.

"That's what it says, but that's not what it means, and that's not an English sentence you yourself would ever say."

"Okay, work calls me. My work calls me. My work is calling me."

"Would you ever *say* that to anyone?"

"No. I would say . . . oh . . . look, I have work to do."

"You just translated it beautifully. What's next?"

"*Mone me si erro.* Admonish me if I wander."

"Dictionary talk. What would you say to your friend?"

And so on. That last one eventually came out: "Blow the whistle if I'm off base." *Rumor volat*, after many a joke about local gossips we have known, was finally translated, "Tongues will wag."

Getting to the Root

Bis das si cito das, being a proverb ("What's a proverb?" "A proverb is a piece of folk wisdom, something so sensible that everyone agrees with it, and something said in such a short and pungent way that it's easily remembered, like it takes two to tango, or love me love my dog, got it?"), required a proverb in the new language. "You give twice if you give quickly" doesn't ring a bell with anyone. The meaning, of course, is that when a man's overboard you throw him the lifesaver now, not a promissory note for a lifesaver next year, or even a thousand lifesavers next year. I offered Hawk two proverbs to choose from: a stitch in time saves nine, or a friend in need is a friend indeed. He chose the right one.

We pressed forward when all else failed, but the memorable times were the hunting trips down unforeseen trails, following a word back through the millennia (I learned that "obey" comes from *audio*), sometimes covering the kitchen table with Hebrew and Greek dictionaries, historical atlases, and encyclopedias (it soon became a standard remark that you couldn't join the wrestling team at St. George's until you could bench-press a Webster's Un-

(Continues on page 1033)

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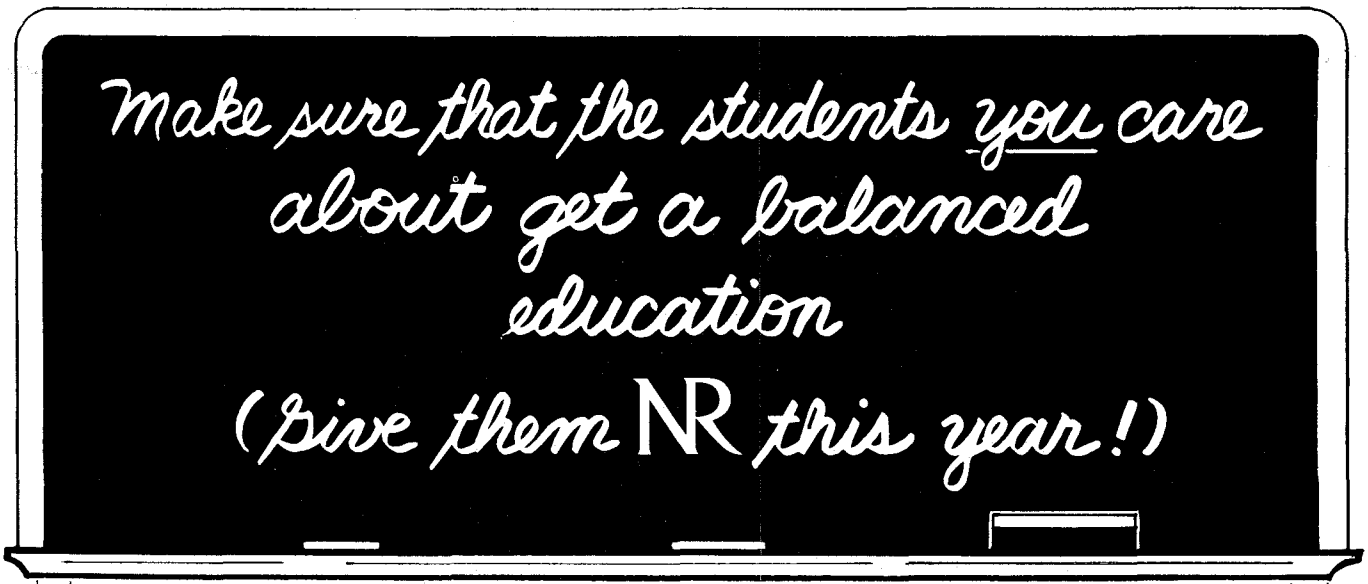

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A CALL FOR HELP

Save Our Mathematics!

JOHN SAXON

EVERYONE AGREES that mathematics education in America today is in a deplorable state. The question is what went wrong. Mathematics education experts have been heard to blame everyone from individual students, to their teachers, to our society as a whole. In fact, the blame rests squarely on those mathematics experts themselves, and on the book companies that employ them and the mathematics hierarchies in the school systems that have encouraged them.

For the last twenty years, these experts have worked unwittingly to bring matters to a point where only the brilliant can learn mathematics. They have tried to teach advanced concepts and a general overview before the student has learned the basics. Inadequate attention is given to such topics as per-cent word problems and fractional-part-of-a-number problems; scientific notation is almost totally ignored. In an important sense, these authors are experts neither in mathematics nor in education. They do not know which mathematics topics must be mastered at which level and have almost no understanding of the capabilities of the average student. Their books are visible proof that they do not know how children learn and assimilate abstractions.

The precipitous decline in the mathematical ability of American students has been followed by a decline in the number of students enrolled in chemistry and physics, and a corresponding decline in test scores in these areas. In our universities foreign students outnumber American students in the physical sciences because American high-school graduates don't know enough mathematics to compete.

In the May 29, 1981, issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, I outlined what can be done to correct this situation. I reported that students who used my Algebra I textbook, which has adequate explanations and daily reviews, had outscored their peers by 159 per cent in a four-hour year-end test program. This test involved 1,365 students in twenty Oklahoma schools, and the results were certified by the Oklahoma Federation of Teachers. The two groups had the same teachers; the only difference was in the texts used. However, the standard books do not teach negative exponents and scientific notation in Algebra I, so for a control group eight sections of Algebra II students were tested instead, and the Algebra I students beat these older and more select opponents by more than 200 per cent in both of these categories. This was the first actual indication I had of the true magnitude of our nation's mathematics disaster.

More than fifty schools used my Algebra I book in the 1981-82 school year, even though they had to start out with photocopied material until the book was printed in October. Just for kicks, I asked eight Oklahoma schools and one California school if they would give a one-hour test to the Algebra I students who were using my book and to the Algebra II students in the same schools. I felt I wasn't risking too much because I would not have to publicize the results if the Algebra I students did not make a good showing. The tests had three questions each on ten fundamental topics of beginning algebra.

Percentage Power

I was both gratified and horrified to learn that, in this 456-student test, the Algebra I students using my book outscored the Algebra II students in nine of the ten areas tested. The topics and the percentages by which the Algebra I students came out on top were: signed numbers, 226 per cent; evaluation, 1 per cent; equations in one variable, 23 per cent; addition of fractions, 155 per cent; scientific notation, 135 per cent; integral exponents, 159 per cent; linear equations, 31 per cent; per-cent word problems, 47 per cent; and number word problems, 139 per cent. The Algebra I students were bested only in radical expressions, and then by only 14 per cent. To demonstrate that the questions were not rigged, I will list the three per-cent problems that were used:

1. Twenty per cent of the trees were in bloom. If 860 trees were in bloom, how many trees were there?

2. The price of the machine was reduced 20 per cent to $640. What was the original price of the machine?

3. The number of birds increased 120 per cent to 880. How many birds were there before the increase?

The test questions on the other concepts were just as straightforward. These results have also been certified by the Oklahoma Federation of Teachers and have been confirmed twice in other tests. The first was a year-long test conducted by six Oklahoma City high schools during the 1981-82 school year. In a two-hour year-end test of skills, the Saxon Algebra I students outscored their peers who had used the nation's best-selling algebra book by 50.8 per cent and scored significantly higher on the California Achievement Test. Another test was conducted on the college version of my Algebra I book by the University of Arkansas. Half the students used the Saxon book and the rest used the school's usual algebra book. On the final examination, the Saxon students outscored the others by a whopping 25 per cent.

More than five hundred school systems used my book during the 1982-83 school year, and reports from these schools have been most encouraging. Teachers find that the students are losing their fear of mathematics. For example, Diana Harvey, a teacher in Hillsboro, Ohio, reports a 50 per cent increase in the number of Algebra I students who have signed up for the next year's mathematics course.

What all these tests and all these reports prove to me is that there is nothing wrong with this generation of students, or with this generation of teachers. All they need is the right textbooks. To understand how they started using ineffective ones in the first place, it is necessary to take a look at physical scientists in general.

A group of physicists at MIT spent World War II improving on the basic radar concepts that had been given us by

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the British. Engineers were not part of this team because these were new and unexplored areas and hence a job for the physicists, whose forte is exploring the unknown. After the war it fell to the engineers to find ways to use the pulse and digital technology developed by the physicists while they were investigating radar. The engineers have since used this knowledge extensively, especially in building computers. The physicists, meanwhile, were not interested in finding ways to apply the known so they went back to the unknown and discovered the principles of transistors, which the engineers now also use extensively in computers.

Physicists focus on the unknown. They don't know what they will discover or if it will be of any use to mankind. They just want to search, explore, and find.

The Old and the New

So it is with theoretical mathematicians. They are not interested in applying mathematics that has already been discovered, for their forte is inventing new mathematics. Of course, they cannot tell if the mathematics they invent will be useful or not, and most of them really don't care. The Englishman George Boole invented what we call Boolean algebra. One story has it that he was proud when he published his paper because he was sure that he had invented something totally useless. What would he say now if he knew that Boolean algebra was the fundamental mathematical tool for the design of every computer that was ever built? Another example is the Frenchman Jean d'Alembert, who found a solution for the differential equation that describes the motion of a vibrating string. How useless! But when the equations for radio waves were written, some happened to be the same equations as those for a vibrating string—and d'Alembert had already found a solution.

Now we have set the stage and can move on to the 1950s, when some mathematicians got the idea that the teaching of mathematics could be improved somehow by concentrating on more recently developed concepts in mathematics. They were not definite in their criticism of what was wrong and did not know what should be changed and set no goals that these changes were supposed to bring about. Nevertheless, four major committees were formed by various sections of the establishment with the idea of seeing what could be done to bring mathematics education into modern times.

Group Mathematics

This attempt was given sudden impetus by the launching of Sputnik; now their groping in the dark became euphemistically known as "catching up with the Russians." The most famous of these groups was called the School Mathematics Study Group (SMSG) and was composed mostly of theoretical mathematicians. There were no chemical engineers, no electrical engineers, no physicists, and only one applied mathematician. The mathematicians were college professors and knew little or nothing of what high-school students know, how they think, and how they learn. They also were uninformed about what topics should be taught at what level. To balance this obvious deficiency, quite a few high-school teachers were asked to the meetings, but most of them were overshadowed by the college contingent. I have talked to several participants in the SMSG, and they have told me that it operated like all too many committees: There was little agreement as to what should be done, prima donnas got mad and stalked out of meetings, cliques formed, and on occasion arbitrary decisions were made. There was a paucity of new ideas, and much time was spent rummaging through existing textbooks. There was no consensus on much of what was discussed; but after meeting for three or four summers, they printed what they had come up with, to be used as a guide by the major book companies.

The SMSG books contained some good ideas, but the overall effect was not satisfactory. Too much attention was given to topics of little importance, while some vitally important topics were insufficiently emphasized and others omitted entirely. Topics were chosen under the assumption that all the children were being trained to be theoretical mathematicians. Topics of interest in physics and chemistry were ignored. It was this imbalance that gives the new math a bad name—not the new ideas themselves.

Then the major book companies got into the act. They hired "experts" to write books that followed the SMSG recommendations. The fact that many able mathematicians called this product SMS Garbage fazed no one. All over the country schools were browbeaten into using these new texts. The emphasis on esoterica and the neglect of fundamentals made these books unworkable, but most people went along with them under the impression that everyone else was pleased. So for twenty years we put up with books that were poorly conceived and abominably executed. The topics included were badly selected, the books had poor to nonexistent explanations, and there was no review of the subject matter. Math teachers and parents should have raised hell the first time a ninth-grader brought home an algebra book that his college-graduate mother and father could not decipher. The idea that children can be taught from books that are unintelligible to adults is absurd. This should be our first check from now on: If we can't read and understand the book, then the book is unsatisfactory.

The order of courses chosen by the experts is also wrong. Testing has shown that students who have used my Algebra I book are still not expert in the fundamentals of algebra. They cannot be taken out of algebra to learn Euclidean geometric proofs and in the process

(Continues on page 1033)

Epitaphs

JOHN BUNYAN
Many a sorry
Off-color story
John got away with
Through allegory.

IZAAK WALTON
When entangling
A damsel sweet,
Then his Angling
Was Compleat.

WILLIAM BLAKE
William Blake, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?
William Blake, a Saint did—
One thou badly painted.

JAMES JOYCE
Jim's conscious poured
A stream of craft
Which few could ford
Without a raft.

—GLORIA A. MAXSON

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Abroad

Madrid *Hesitation Waltz*

During the last election campaign, one of the planks in the platform of the Spanish Socialist Party was the abandonment of membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which the previous parliament had ratified. Now that Felipe González's Socialist government has settled itself in power, this question keeps awkwardly coming up. Like the Socialist government in Greece, which also pledged itself to withdraw from NATO, González and his men are obviously having second thoughts. But pressure is mounting to settle the issue one way or another. Alfonso Guerra, deputy premier, has come out for early withdrawal, without specifying how this might affect the bilateral military agreements with the United States, which long preceded the NATO association. Spain's formal adhesion to NATO may not make so much difference to the long-view strategic planners, since Spain has nowhere to go outside of Western Europe, but practically it would make a considerable difference. As González grows in experience, he may decide that this is one campaign promise that should be forgotten.

Brasília *Latin Debts*

Two of the biggest debtor nations in Latin America are striving to conform to standards of international practice in order to win support from the International Monetary Fund, but the struggle is far from easy. Brazil, for example, has announced that wages will go up by only 8 per cent in the next two years and that interest rates will be reduced. These measures will chiefly affect the industrial triangle of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte. At the same time, Argentina, which has a foreign debt of $65 billion (compared to Brazil's $90 billion), will default on one of the IMF's basic requirements, namely to hold the inflation rate for this year to 160 per cent. Consumer prices rose by 15.8 per cent in June; if that trend should continue, Argentina will suffer the highest annual inflation rate—340 per cent—since the military junta took over the country in 1976. The June increase was blamed on speculators who cashed in on the redenomination of the Argentine peso. Economy Minister Jorge Wehbe is warning that consumer price controls may be imposed as a consequence. Higher interest rates may be another recourse for the government, which has been relying on unenforceable agreements with private companies to limit price rises.

Leningrad *Third Generation*

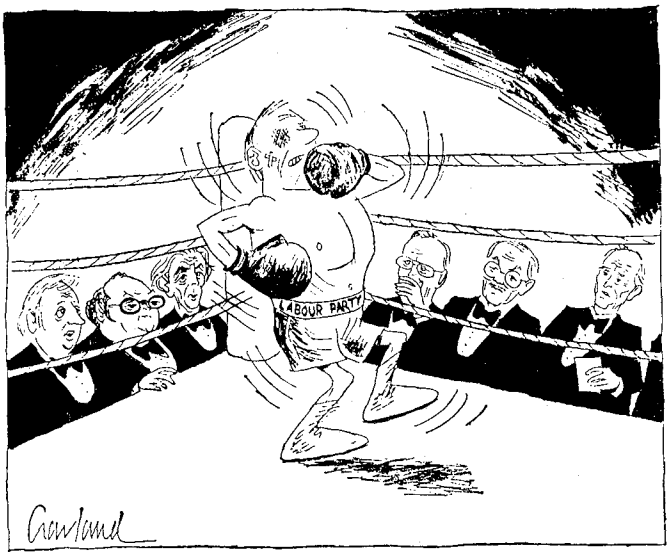
A young Soviet dissident has been sentenced by a court here to five years in a strict-regime camp and three more years of "internal exile" for participating in the work of an independent trade union and for receiving proscribed literature from abroad. The dissident, Rostislav Evdokimov, 32, says he does not oppose the state but the Soviet Communist Party. He was expelled from Leningrad University in 1971 despite a creditable academic record, and his writings have been published in Russian-language journals abroad. His political position is based on patriotism and religious conviction, and opposition to violence and terrorism. Evdokimov's family has suffered political persecution for three generations. His grandfather, who was a captain in the Soviet navy, died in one of Stalin's concentration camps. His father was an anti-Communist writer who died of cancer just after a long term in a psychiatric hospital where he was refused proper medical treatment.

Moscow *Splitsville*

The divorce rate in European Russia has climbed to 950,000 a year, approaching half the total number of marriages, according to a Soviet sociologist writing in *Pravda*, and Soviet authorities fear a general breakdown of the family as a unit. Every fourth adult now lives alone, generally because of divorce. The number of female-headed families is in the millions. The article said that the loosening of traditional family ties was mainly responsible, and cited as an example the emergence of the two- or three-income family. Young people are going into marriage with attitudes of increasing irresponsibility and are unprepared to deal with growing materialism, the article continues, and there has been a rise in alcoholism among the young. Family integrity and harmony are more desirable than ever, the paper says: "As the rhythm of life increases, . . . so the family is of ever greater importance to people as a rest home for their nerves and an oasis for their souls."

London *Junior Jackpots*

The common slot machine, or one-armed bandit, has become such a craze among British schoolchildren that Gamblers Anonymous is thinking of creating a junior division to handle the addiction. One out of every five persons who turn to the organization for help is between 12 and 17. These young gamblers regularly steal money for their habit and automatically squander their lunch and pocket money on what are called locally "fruit machines." Gamblers Anonymous finds that they are "so young that they do not relate with the older people" in the organization. Hence the idea of a junior operation. "It does not matter," a spokesman said, "whether you spend £5 or £50,000 a week; if gambling disrupts your life, you have a problem."



Garland, *London Daily Telegraph* Rothco

"Another left to the jaw, followed by a right to the body."

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The Human Life Review **is "powerful stuff . . . its innate moral wit and analytical power keep alive the abortion controversy . . . [the HLR] has the manners of a bishop and the tongue of H. L. Mencken, and if you didn't know the two could fuse, it's because you have deprived yourself of familiarity with this remarkable journal."**

—Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

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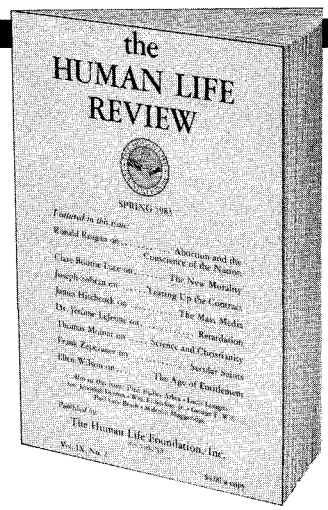

Yes, such "social issues" as abortion and infanticide are now being hotly debated across America, in the Congress, the churches, and even your daily newspaper. Yet there is only *one* publication that is devoted entirely to providing the very best articles available not only on abortion and "related" issues such as infanticide and "mercy killing" but also on the family, the problems of the aged, and much, much more. That publication is *The Human Life Review*, edited by J. P. McFadden.

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. has called the HLR "the locus of civilized philosophical, legal and polemical discussion of the abortion issue." Now in its ninth year of publication, the quarterly has featured such famous writers as Clare Boothe Luce and Malcolm Muggeridge. It regularly brings you articles by such well-known authors and social critics as Joseph Sobran, John T. Noonan Jr., Ellen Wilson, James Hitchcock, and Francis Canavan, S.J.

The HLR has become *part* of the "social issues" news. The current (Spring '83) issue features a major (over 3,500 words) article by President Ronald Reagan on "Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation" that became instant front-page news nationwide. Probably no other President—while in the White House—has written so powerful an article on such a controversial issue. For example, the President writes:

> **The real question today is not when human life begins, but, *What is the value of human life?* The abortionist who reassembles the arms and legs of a tiny baby to make sure all its parts have been torn from its mother's body can hardly doubt whether it is a human being. The real question for him and for all of us is whether that tiny human life has a God-given right to be protected by the law—the same right we have.**

The current issue also features articles by The Hon. Clare Boothe Luce and Malcolm Muggeridge, fine original essays by Joseph Sobran (on the Supreme Court) and Thomas Molnar (on science and religion), plus columns by Senator Jeremiah Denton, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., and George F. Will.

Also in the current issue are Ellen Wilson, Dr. Jerome LeJeune, James Hitchcock, Frank Zepezauer, Prof. Hadley Arkes, and Paul Cole Beach.

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THE QUARTERLY REPORT

The Bombayization Of New York

MICHAEL A. SCULLY

THE CENTRAL circumstance of American social policy is also a central problem of American political ideology. It is the exhaustion of the reform movement, that combination of the Protestant social gospel and the American zeal for improvement that was the chief critic and shaper of our public life for nearly a century. In its late and most powerful stage, it went by the name of liberalism.

The two poles of its compass were charity *and* progress, including self-improvement. When its vision blurred, charity came to be seen as a right, and the architects of "public improvements" too often despised the small struggles of individuals to improve their own condition, although without such efforts schemes of general improvement rarely succeed. Then the great ship drifted off to oblivion; we are caught in the pull of its sinking.

Nowadays, in every neighborhood in the city of New York, and in at least some other cities throughout the country, ragged, often seriously mentally ill, men and women pick through garbage cans, sleep in doorways or on ventilating grates, and shuffle their days through city streets, subways, and parks. They are almost always pathetic, and some are truly hideous to behold. In many ways their plights are visible signs of a social-service system that, plagued by the exhaustion of earlier ideas and remedies, has lost its sense of itself. The older, liberal road has branched off into despair, on the one hand, and an unhelpful passionateness, on the other.

Thomas J. Main refuses to take either of those turnings. Instead, he has journeyed to the bowels of New York's skid-row facilities for homeless men, and returned to expose the facts—and also the fables—of homelessness in New York. Main reports his findings in the Summer issue of *The Public Interest*, in an article titled, "The Homeless of New York." (A second article, devoted to the street life of the homeless, will appear in a forthcoming issue.)

The chief New York advocacy group concerned with the homeless places the number of such people at 36,000. The New York State Office of Mental Health estimated late in 1979 that the figure was thirty thousand, a number they derived from the New York Men's Shelter estimate that the nine thousand different men they served that year constituted about 30 per cent of the total homeless population. In fact, no one knows for sure how many homeless there are in New York City, but it seems likely that these estimates are high. Main points out that when, on February 11 of this year, twenty inches of snow fell on the city, attendance in shelters was 4,771. It seems unlikely that six times as many people would prefer the streets under such conditions.

Who are the homeless? It turns out that they are far less homogeneous a group than one might expect. One report, based on interviewers' assessments of long-term shelter occupants, was able to place about two-thirds of its sample into specific categories. It classified shelter residents as psychiatric cases only (34 per cent), alcoholic only (6 per cent), economically needy only (19 per cent), drug abusers only (2 per cent), and physically disabled only (3 per cent), with the remaining 36 per cent not classifiable under a single heading. Many in that group have alcoholic histories. Thus two common assumptions about New York's homeless turn out to be true: Many are former mental patients, and many others have histories of alcohol and/or drug abuse.

Two groups are of special concern to Main. Part of his forthcoming article will be devoted to the plight of (and bureaucratic obfuscations about) former mental patients among the homeless of New York. In the current article he deals at length with the problem of healthy young men "suffering no disability . . . [but] locked into a network of circumstances that makes the shelters 'attractive' to them," as compared with other arrangements. Despite the resistance of advocacy groups, argues Main, these people must be treated in such a way —by instituting shelter work requirements and the like—that they have an incentive to look for jobs and resume normal lives. Shelter tenure, Main insists, should be temporary in all cases, either until an individual can resume caring for himself, or—in the many cases of more serious problems—until placement in institutions or rehabilitation programs can be arranged. Too often, shelters seem to be the tail end of a social-service system that is running away from itself.

IN THE 1970s, there developed a new ideology about the treatment of the mentally ill. Large institutions, which oftentimes had a hideous squalor of their own, fell into disrepute among some social-service professionals. Indeed, some argued that the "warehousing" of the mentally ill hurt rather than helped them. Under such new prescriptions as the "least harm" principle, thousands of former mental patients were released from state hospitals to halfway houses, single-room-occupancy hotels, and city streets. Unfortunately, politicians soon realized that this was also a money-saving proposition. Thus the exhaustion of older scruples about benevolence to the truly afflicted met up with a new parsimoniousness.

V. S. Naipaul once described a character in an Indian novel who had fallen into the passive contentment of a debased Hinduism. "To be in the midst of 'the grime of this earth,' secure in the midst of distress: that is all he asks. . . . It is the death of a civilization." The best instincts of liberalism involved a refusal to accept squalor as inevitable, and a desire to better the lot of those "in the midst of distress." Thus the great danger the homeless pose comes not from their sores, nor their screams, nor even their rare lunges at passers-by. It is rather that we will get used to the homeless and their squalid conditions.

From New York to Bombay is a very short distance: It fits between one's ears. □

Mr. Scully is editor of This World, *and consulting editor of* The Public Interest.

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The Great Conspiracy

The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House
By Seymour M. Hersh
Summit Books, 698 pp., $19.95

VICTOR GOLD

Seymour, Seymour, you just can't let go of it, can you? How many years did you put into this one? Four, you say. Back at your old haunts, reliving the glory days of the Sixties and Seventies. It had to be fun. Labors of love are fine, but what can be more rejuvenating than a labor of bile? Oh, you've got them talking, all right; buzzing around Georgetown, asking, "You think it's true, what he says about Henry playing both sides in the '68 campaign?" Why, you've even put Morarji Desai, that old Indian connoisseur of uric acid, back in the news, filing a libel suit. It's been a real mother-lode, Seymour, but tell me, as a friend: What about the future? I mean, long-range. What do you plan to do when the vein runs out?

It can't go on forever, you know. Hitler, maybe. But Nixon? Look, credit where credit is due. Frankly, I didn't think there was another *Times* best-seller in the old material—the megalomaniacal President, his scheming staff, the Christmas bombing, the tilt toward Pakistan, the Plumbers, etc. Sooner or later there has to come a book-buying generation that knows not Richard. Or cares not. So I was wrong this time. But there's got to be a limit, even for spin-offs. Keep it up, by the end of the decade you'll be down to fake Nixon diaries. If Woodward doesn't beat you to them.

Ah, Seymour, my friend, this obsession of yours—how can I limn it diagnostically so that you don't rush from the room, convinced I too am part of the Great Conspiracy? Because you see, that's part of your problem. You're a mirror image of what you perceive to be the CIA-Pentagon Weltanschauung: the paranoiac conviction that there's an anti-American under every bed; except in your case, the perception is that of an *anti*-anti-American beneath the mattress.

Whoa now, don't get huffy. I know that, like others in your trade, you're hypersensitive to criticism, especially when anyone questions your motives. (Agreed: That's a constitutional prerogative of truth-seeking reporters.) But where, I ask, is it all going to end—and when? Night falls, the moon grows full, some inner voice rasps "Nixon" or "Kissinger," and you're off again, the lycanthropic journalist bounding through the thickets of the Freedom of Information Act. Oh, those symptoms: the old blood lust that comes from having been bitten at an impressionable age by Izzy Stone. Documents everywhere, Classified, Top Secret, Eyes Only. And interviews, hundreds of interviews from A to Z, Allen to Zumwalt. Just thinking about it exhausts a nine-to-five man.

Credit where credit is due. Yet why, despite the three-inch footnotes and annotations and annotations-to-annotations, am I left with this vacuous feeling of having been subjected to *Rocky XVI* or *Superman XII*; that I've been in this theater before and heard it all? Heard about that old debbil Greek junta; about Henry screwing Bill Rogers once daily and twice on the Sabbath; about the Company operating in Chile, and Nixon's nasty ethnic slurs, not to forget his [*expletive deleted*]s:

> The two men marched into the Oval Office. "When the door opened," Korry says, "Nixon was standing right inside. He smacked his fist into his hand and said, 'That SOB, that SOB.' I looked surprised and he said, 'Not you, Mr. Ambassador. I know it isn't your fault and you've always told it like it is. It's that son of a bitch Allende.' "

Korry, if memory serves, was ultimately canned—but where would truth-seeking journalists be if it weren't for disgruntled ex-ambassadors? Then there is Richard Allen's recollection of Henry working both sides of the street in the 1968 campaign. I wonder . . . Don't misunderstand; Dick Allen has his strong suits. I've just never thought of him as

David Evanier *is the author of the recently published collection of stories,* The One-Star Jew. . . . **Victor Gold**'*s latest book is* PR as in President. . . . **Jeffrey Meyers** *is the author of* Married to Genius, Hemingway: The Critical Heritage, *and other books.* . . . **Terry Teachout** *is the former jazz critic for the* Kansas City Star. . . . **Adam B. Ulam** *is Gurney Professor of History and Political Science and director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard, and author of the recent* Dangerous Relations: The Soviet Union in World Politics 1970-1982.

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one of the Western world's more dispassionate sources of Kissinger data. As for that revelation about Morarji Desai —that he worked as a pro-American mole in Indira Gandhi's cabinet—we're talking about Mrs. Gandhi's *first* cabinet, right? Back in 1970. Thirteen years ago. Whatever the source, pardon my yawn.

My point, Seymour, is that you seem to be reaching. For that matter, your urge to pin all things bad and ugly on the Nixon crowd doesn't always make for the firmest of grasps. Take your version of the Muskie-crying-in-the-snow incident during the 1972 presidential primary campaign:

> Muskie shed tears of anger when he responded to allegations—in the infamous "Canuck" letter published in the arch-conservative *Manchester Union-Leader*—that his wife had made racial slurs against New Hampshire's French-Canadian population. The letter, whose author was never located, was certainly spurious, but its impact, abetted by Muskie's dramatic response, was devastating.

Wrong. The Canuck letter had nothing to do with Mrs. Muskie. The letter alleged that candidate Muskie himself had made some slurring reference to French-Canadians while he was campaigning in Florida. What sent the senator into lachrymal spasm that snowy day in New Hampshire was the paper's reprinting an earthy interview with Mrs. Muskie that had originally been published in *Women's Wear Daily*, then reported by *Newsweek*. Two separate episodes. A quibble? Well, let's just say that an investigative journalist who expects to be believed about major intrigues in New Delhi shouldn't lapse into minor discrepancies in New Hampshire.

Oh, I know, I know—this is a Very Important Book, not to be that lightly dismissed. Anthony Lewis tells me so. But Seymour, the worst thing about this obsession is that it's even led you into selective remembrance of your *own* history: e.g., "*The Price of Power*," you claim, "had its beginnings in my experience as a Washington reporter for the *New York Times* during Watergate."

Come, now. Years before Watergate —going back to your days as Gene McCarthy's press flack and speechwriter during the 1968 New Hampshire Democratic primary—you were sharpening your teeth for the Pentagon, the CIA, Nixon, Kissinger, anything that smacked of Power Establishment. You're good at it, too, one of the most lupine slashers-and-slanters in the news business. But . . .

The vein, Seymour, the vein. It's tapping out. What you need is fresh Power Establishments to test your investigative mettle, new fields of atrocity and conspiracy to challenge your capacity for outrage. Just a suggestion now, but have you ever given any thought to doing a book, even a magazine piece, on what's been going on in Vietnam and Cambodia lately? Or, if it's conspiracy you're looking for, there's the riddle of the KGB and the Bulgarians and . . . Seymour! *Seymour?*

Damn, I wonder what I said that set him off? □

Andropov: New Challenge to the West
By Arnold Beichman and Mikhail S. Bernstam
Stein and Day, 208 pp., $16.95

THE GREASY POLE

ADAM B. ULAM

Exploring the labyrinth of Soviet politics at the highest level can be a fascinating, but at the same time exasperating, endeavor. The secrecy of the decision-making process is probably the most potent weapon that the twenty-odd people at the very top of the Kremlin hierarchy dispose of in warding off any attempt by outsiders to interfere with their rule, or to penetrate the reasons why the USSR has been feverishly deploying new nuclear-weapons systems; why Comrade X, hitherto one of the chosen, has been summarily dismissed and dropped into the memory hole; or, conversely, why Comrade Y, hitherto an inconspicuous bureaucrat of no special distinction, has suddenly been raised to the dizzy heights of a party secretaryship and/or full Politburo membership. Outside this charmed circle of a small group of elderly and middle-aged men, everyone else, and not only foreign governments and observers and the Soviet people, but even the intermediate layer of the oligarchy—those several hundred members of the Central Committee—is supposed to be kept in the dark as to what really happens on the Kremlin Olympus. Indeed, Nikita Khrushchev's main sin in the eyes of his colleagues, and the one that led to his overthrow, was that he did lift this curtain of secrecy just a little bit, and let in "strangers," such as the rank-and-file Central Committee members, on his fellow oligarchs' intrigues and transgressions. And so, during the Brezhnev era, the rulers' deliberations and policy-making were surrounded by secrecy in some ways even more thoroughly than in Stalin's time.

With all such handicaps, Messrs. Beichman and Bernstam's venture is a skillful and enlightening exercise in Kremlinology. We do learn about some of the maneuvers and intrigues that culminated in the elevation of Yuri Andropov to the highest position in the Soviet world. Unlike most people dealing with this subject matter, the authors try scrupulously to separate facts from rumors and speculations. What clearly emerges from their story is how much the Soviet system is locked into its own internal contradictions and how its main ingredients—secrecy, repression, and moribund ideology—add up to the impossibility that that system, short of some very unusual combination of circumstances, will be able to regenerate itself. One might go further and say that since shortly after its founding, the Soviet Union (and the same, though to a much lesser extent, had been true of the Czarist regime before 1905) has never had a government in the true sense of the word: Instead, what poses as a government has been a standing conspiracy of the rulers, primarily against their own peo-

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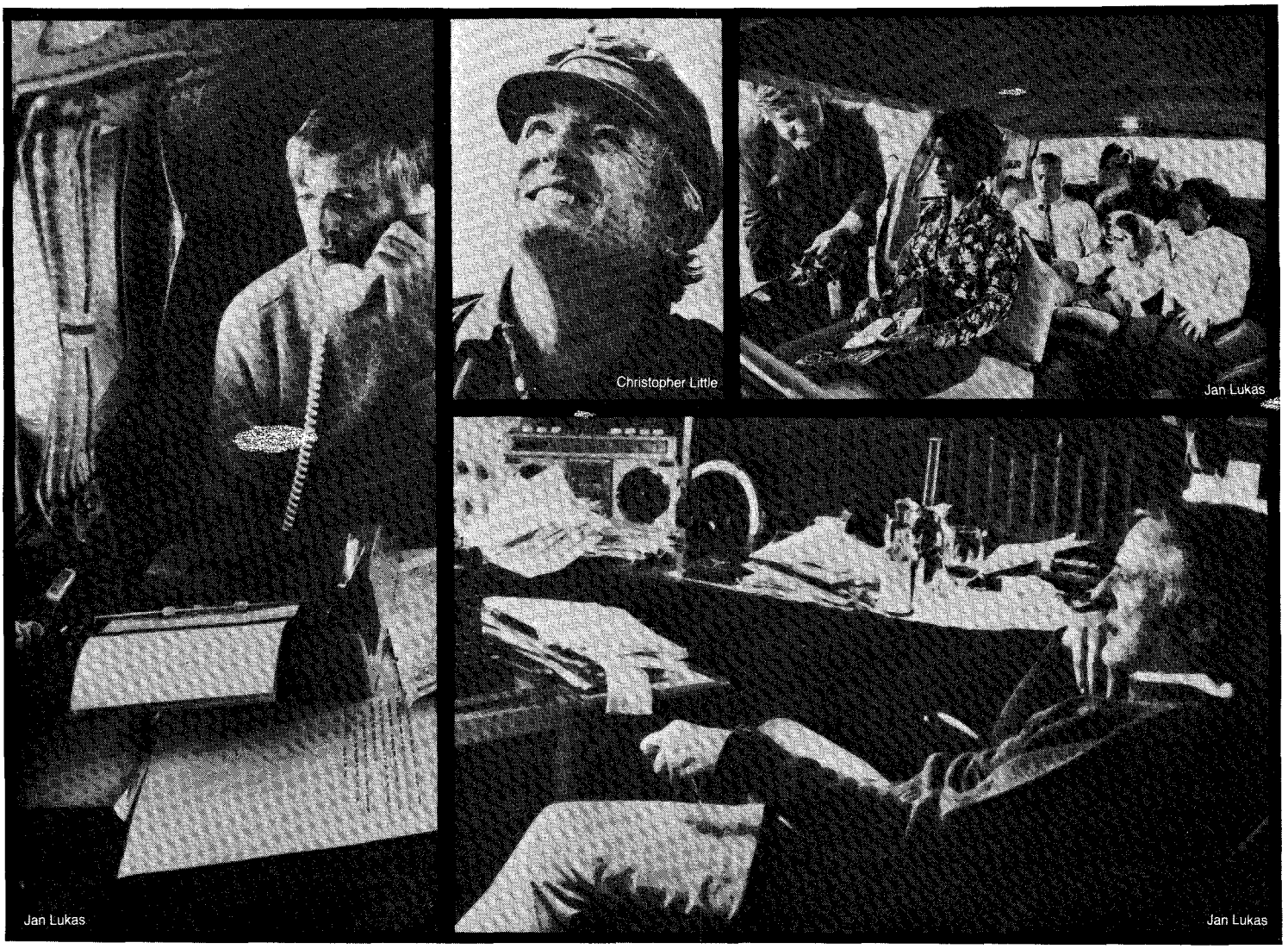

You are cordially invited to spend a week inside the mind, life and times of William F. Buckley, Jr.

—At his desk, harpsichord, and favorite restaurant table; on camera, at the lecture platform, on Long Island Sound; in conference, in controversy, in his limousine getting (at greater than engine speed) from one place to the next.

It is by conventional standards an extraordinary week—although not an untypical one for Bill Buckley. As John Leonard explains in his *Vanity Fair* review, "When Buckley goes to the theater, the theater he goes to is *Nicholas Nickleby*. When he must change a seating plan for lunch, he can substitute our ambassador to the United Nations for the Vice President of the United States. When he is about to tape a television program with the governor of Kentucky, the telephone call that interrupts him is from Ronald Reagan. This is life in the fast (right) lane."

Bringing us into conversation with artists, writers, politicians, convicts, family, and friends, *Overdrive* gives us an inside view of one of the few contemporary public figures regularly described as a "Renaissance man." Still, Mr. Leonard asks: "Buckley may be ubiquitous, but why is he necessary?" And immediately answers: "Because he is *not* a dilettante. He isn't tired of *anything*. Buckley is busily serious. Citizenship for most of us is a hobby; for him it is a calling."

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. has described Buckley as "a man who has won the decathlon of human existence." In this autobiography of one week, he tells what he does, why he does it—and to an astonishing extent, provides insights into our own lives at the closing years of the century.

OVERDRIVE

A PERSONAL DOCUMENTARY BY WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

A Literary Guild Alternate Selection

DOUBLEDAY

Portions of this book originally appeared in *The New Yorker.*

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RANDOM NOTES

■ MORE SEPTEMBER TITLES: *Solidarity: Poland 1980-81* (Cambridge, $19.95), by Alain Touraine, François Dubet, Michel Wieviorka, and Jan Stezelecki, argues that the betrayed union militants behind the movement are not inspired by revolutionary ideas but represent rather the aspirations of a broadly based section of the Polish people which desires simply social democratic change and the fulfillment of nationalistic ambition. . . . *Poland* (Random House, $17.95) is the title of James A. Michener's new novel, which concerns the fortunes of three Polish families—peasant, gentry, nobility—from the Middle Ages to the present and richly illustrates the paucity of this kind of writing.

In *A New Social Contract: The Economy and Government after Reagan* (Harper & Row, $14.95), Martin Carnoy, Derek Shearer, and Russell Rumberger argue for a national economic democracy that would stagger Mussolini, let alone FDR or Rexford Tugwell. . . . In *Nuclear War, Nuclear Peace* (Holt, $7.95; paper, $2.95), Leon Wieseltier expands upon his *New Republic* articles to chastise Left and Right alike (which he calls the Party of Peace and the Party of War) and urges his own policies for successful deterrents.

Diane Ravitch's new book (she will be remembered as the author of *The Great School Wars*) is *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-80* (Basic Books, $19.95), which traces the down-arc of a once-proud American institution with an altogether too optimistic touch. . . . *The Tarnished Door: The New Immigrants and the Transformation of America* (Times Books, $17.95), by John Crewdson, fails to understand that illegal aliens are invaders, not immigrants, and should be treated accordingly.

Hugging the Shore: Essays & Criticism (Knopf, $19.95), by John Updike, gives you eight years and eight hundred pages of the novelist's unnovelistic writings. . . . Lyle W. Dorsett's *And God Came In: The Extraordinary Story of Joy Davidman—Her Life and Marriage to C. S. Lewis* (Macmillan, $14.95) may please some of Lewis's soppier devotees. —CW

ple and at times against the rest of the world.

The authors expend perhaps too much effort and indignation in exposing the silly stories that, in the wake of Andropov's promotion, pictured him as bound to be a liberal-minded dove, the alleged proofs being his fluent command of English and his fondness for Scotch, Glenn Miller, and Jacqueline Susann. (Whoever concocted such stories overlooked the fact that the latter two don't go together; better to have tried John O'Hara.) But suppose that Yuri Vladimirovich had indeed had such eccentric, for a Russian of his age and position, predilections. If by some miracle a secret admirer of J. S. Mill or Thomas Jefferson were to find himself in the Politburo, he too would have to speak and act according to the Kremlin's traditional code, and eventually, short of doing away with himself, would have to fall in line with his colleagues' ways of thinking.

Of course, like any clever politician, Andropov realized that he would have to signal his advent to the highest position by some spectacular initiative. Hence the much advertised campaign against corruption. But again one had to doubt that he would succeed. In an oligarcho-bureaucratic system such as the USSR has had, and *par excellence* since 1964, the absolute power of the top oligarchy is largely dependent on a kind of silent understanding with the broader elite—those thousands of high party, government, and military officials—that the latter must not interfere with the governance of the country or even try to penetrate its mysteries, in return for which the former will eschew a frontal attack at the lesser bosses' privileges and emoluments. Andropov is no Stalin, who kept his officialdom off balance by intermittent waves of terror, nor is he likely to try to emulate the example of Khrushchev, whose impulsive schemes of reorganization and garrulity about the evils of the past first alienated his fellow oligarchs and then led to feelings of insecurity and disaffection among the local party leaders.

In fact, the picture that emerges from this biography is that of an ambitious but wary politician. Taking his first steps up the ladder, Andropov displayed two skills supremely important to a Communist official in Stalin's time: the ability to attach himself to a powerful protector, and the readiness to abandon and denounce him once the latter's star was waning. With Stalin's death, Andropov's upward climb seemed to come to an abrupt end. He was shifted from the Central Committee apparatus to diplomatic work, usually a dead end for one aspiring to be among his country's rulers. But Andropov's conduct as ambassador in Hungary during the 1956 uprising earned him high marks from his superiors. And so he went back to the central party apparatus and prospered greatly under Khrushchev, becoming in 1962 Central Committee secretary in charge of relations with ruling Communist parties.

In 1967 came another seeming detour: appointed head of the KGB and dropped as secretary. The new position was of course extremely important, but none of the previous chiefs of the secret police had made it to the very top, and, for three of them, their tenure in the job proved to be a prelude to a firing squad. But again Andropov proved an exception to the rule. He survived in his hazardous assignment for 15 years, evidently without arousing undue suspicions on the part of the leaders. They must have also appreciated the firm, yet by Soviet standards discreet, way in which the KGB under his guidance dealt with what they felt was an accursed legacy of Khrushchev, dissent: no outright terror but a judicious mixture of penalties, ranging from foreign exile to confinement in the camps and mental institutions. And so came the rewards—Andropov received full Politburo membership in 1973, and in 1982 he shed his identity as a policeman to succeed the late Mikhail Suslov as party secretary in charge of ideological matters, a job having little to do with ideology, as the term is usually understood, but rather consisting mainly in enforcing conformity to the party line in all spheres of Soviet life.

And so in the last months of Brezhnev's reign, many a party official must have realized with a start that there were now but two real contenders for the succession. Of the four men meeting the usual prerequisites (full Politburo membership *and* secretaryship), Kirilenko was older than Brezhnev and ailing himself; Gorbachev, in his early fifties the baby of the Politburo, was obviously too young. And despite the odor of police and espionage work clinging to Andropov*, he was felt to be preferable to Chernenko, who, as Brezhnev's favorite and his own choice

*"He was not a KGB man himself, but a party official assigned to watch over the KGB," a recent Soviet visitor tried, with some embarrassment, to assure me.

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for successor, was viewed rather coldly by most of his colleagues.

Despite the subtitle of the book, Beichman and Bernstam wisely abstain from extensive speculations as to what Andropov's accession might mean for the West. Soviet leaders do not shape their foreign policies according to personal preferences and tastes. In foreign, much more than in domestic, affairs they tend to be hard-boiled realists, their schemes and moves reflecting their reading of the current "configuration of forces" in the world. And so, as before, the fortunes of Soviet-American relations will depend largely on the strength and resolution displayed by the West. But a key element in the ability of the U.S. to deal successfully with the USSR must lie in the Americans' better understanding of the intricacies of Soviet politics. This purpose is served admirably by the Beichman-Bernstam book. □

Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union
By S. Frederick Starr
Oxford, 368 pp., $16.95

JUMPIN' AT THE GULAG

TERRY TEACHOUT

I have a friend in Russia—in Sverdlovsk, to be exact. "Friend" may be too strong a word, I suppose, since we've never met, Sverdlovsk being strictly off limits to foreign visitors. (The last foreigner admitted to that notoriously unsociable city arrived via U-2 in 1960.) Our association came about some three years ago when I ran across an offer in the classified-ad section of a music magazine: a man who wanted to swap Russian classical recordings for American rock and jazz.

At first, our trade agreement was bilateral. I sent my new friend Pat Metheny and Weather Report; he sent me Shostakovich and Van Cliburn. Then he slipped me a ringer: a shabby-looking album bearing the title "All-Union Jazz Festival Tbilisi-78."

The first cut was exactly what I would have expected of Soviet jazz: a jovial three-legged race through "Sweet Georgia Brown" performed by the banjo-powered Leningrad Dixieland. This, however, was followed by an ultra-suave duet for tenor sax and guitar called "Blues for Two"; a lovely, Bill Evans-like composition by the Tonu Naissoo Trio; a funky strut called "Recollection of Tbilisi" by pianist Vagif Mustafa-Zade; and a thrillingly abrasive collective improvisation by an avant-garde trio led by one Vyacheslav Ganelin.

Who were these people? How on earth had they learned to play jazz like that behind the Iron Curtain? The liner notes to the album were no help, since they were written in Russian; and as I continued to receive new recordings of *sovyetskiy dzhaz* from my obviously well-connected friend in Sverdlovsk, my curiosity grew by leaps and bounds.

Enter S. Frederick Starr, a man with a decidedly offbeat résumé: president of Oberlin College, professional jazz musician and scholar, former secretary of

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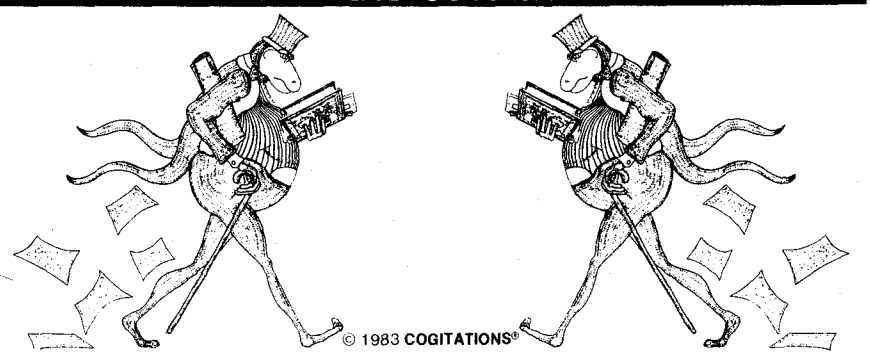

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the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, and author of *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union*. Not only does Mr. Starr know who Tonu Naissoo, Vagif Mustafa-Zade, and Vyacheslav Ganelin are, but he also seems to know everything else there is to know about Russian jazz. (His book contains 918 footnotes.) The story he has to tell is by turns macabre and inspiring; his telling of it is a minor masterpiece.

ON MARCH 7, 1917, the Victor Talking Machine Company of Camden, New Jersey, released the first recordings of jazz, a pair of 78s by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band; on April 16, 1917, Lenin arrived at the Finland Station. "Thus," writes Mr. Starr, "at precisely the moment the proletarian dictatorship was being established in Russia and its cultural programs first proclaimed, another revolution in popular culture had burst out in America and was spreading rapidly."

Jazz had made its circuitous way to Russia by 1922 and immediately began to spread like wildfire. Sidney Bechet toured the country in 1926, playing to packed houses everywhere; later that year, a Leningrad pianist sailed to Philadelphia, talked Paul Whiteman out of two dozen charts, and returned home to organize a 14-piece group called the First Concert Jazz Band.* "Three years after the Russians' first clumsy attempts to imitate jazz," Mr. Starr tells us, "the Soviet government's newspapers were criticizing a Harlem band for being insufficiently hot."

Then Lenin died, Stalin took over, and—with a single vicious punch—Russian jazz was on the ropes. Socialist realism became the battle cry of jittery Soviet composers; the Association of Proletarian Musicians called for an outright ban on jazz; and, in 1928, Maxim Gorky weighed in with an essay published in *Pravda* that, among other things, called jazz the product of "an orchestra of sexually driven madmen conducted by a man-stallion brandishing a huge genital member." Sidney Bechet's 1926 tour would be the last appearance in the Soviet Union by an American jazzman for thirty years.

The subsequent history of jazz in the Soviet Union is a complicated succession of freezes and thaws that Mr. Starr relates with exceptional clarity, summoning up one incredible vignette after another: the great *Pravda-Izvestia* jazz battle of 1936, at the end of which the editors of *Pravda* announced that "the editors of *Izvestia* . . . cannot continue forever to open the pages of a newspaper to philistine twaddle aimed at liquidating jazz," and subsequently managed to get the entire editorial board of *Izvestia* purged; Aleksandr Tsfasman, the top Soviet jazzman of the pre-war era, who once cold-cocked the Tbilisi chief of police for interfering with a rehearsal and lived to tell the tale; Leonid Utesov, who staged a big-band concert at the height of the postwar period of jazz repression, prefacing it with a flowery little speech in which he warned his audience that jazz was evil and advised them to listen closely so they could later recognize it and avoid it.

Perhaps the most fascinating figure in Mr. Starr's portrait gallery is Eddie Rosner, a figure straight out of Solzhenitsyn. Rosner was a cornet virtuoso who knew Gene Krupa, idolized Harry James, and was once called "the white Louis Armstrong" by Armstrong himself. A Polish Jew with lucky timing, Rosner fled to Russia just as the Kremlin was deciding that big bands would be good for wartime morale; he struck up an acquaintance with the jazz-loving first secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party and quickly became the top musical star of the Soviet Union, earning more than 100,000 rubles a year at his peak. Rosner became so popular that he was even invited to give a command performance for Stalin in the spring of 1941.

> When the curtain finally rose, the musicians stared across the lights into what appeared to be an empty theater. For two hours the band played through its best numbers, leavening them with skits, songs, and banter. After the finale the curtain fell in the silence of what seemed a ghastly joke. Only at six A.M. the following day did a Kremlin *apparatchik* telephone Rosner's manager to inform him that Stalin had liked the performance.

Stalin again changed his mind about jazz after the war, and Rosner was arrested by the MGB in 1946. He was sent through the Lubyanka to Siberia, where he soon found himself leading a prison-camp big band, courtesy of the director of the Kolyma branch of Gulag —a veteran Rosner fan. Rosner was released from prison in 1953 and allowed to emigrate to Berlin in 1972, where he died four years later. He is a nonperson in Russia today, his name never mentioned in print and his records officially unavailable.

WITH THE long overdue death of Stalin, the on-again, off-again freeze on *sovyetskiy dzhaz* gradually lifted for good. In Mr. Starr's view, the Kremlin ultimately decided that suppressing jazz simply wasn't worth it.

> For all its purported interest in molding popular tastes, the Soviet government and its cultural bureaucrats have utterly failed to provide any acceptable alternative to the Western-style popular culture they criticize . . . Far from being docile and malleable, Soviet jazz fans have shown themselves to be independent and resourceful. Those who like jazz find ways of playing or hearing it, whatever policy may be. . . . It is no wonder that, in the long run, the government had to make its peace with jazz.

I haven't heard from my friend in Sverdlovsk lately; the censors started sending my packages back shortly after one of President Reagan's more candid public statements about foreign policy. (They ship them postage due.) But I have no doubt that he's still managing to keep up with the latest developments in jazz. There are precious few happy endings in Russian life, but the story of jazz seems to have achieved one of them. In S. Frederick Starr, this amazing tale has found a truly worthy exponent. □

*The featured speaker at the debut of the First Concert Jazz Band was a young composer named Joseph Schillinger. He was run out of Russia by the OGPU in 1928 and came to America, where he taught composition to everybody from Eubie Blake to Gerry Mulligan and helped George Gershwin orchestrate *Porgy and Bess*. Glenn Miller originally wrote "Moonlight Serenade" as an exercise for Schillinger.

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Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation
By Noel Fitch
Norton, 447 pp., $25

The Hemingway Women
By Bernice Kert
Norton, 555 pp., $20

A TRAIL OF DESTRUCTION

JEFFREY MEYERS

American writers of the Twenties in Paris fascinate us still. We are impressed by the concentration of intellect and genius and struck by the contrast to the bleakness of present-day culture. Yet most of the expatriates had notably petulant characters. Even the good Sylvia Beach was capable of petty spite, of what Joyce called "acts of insane adulation and meaningless rage."

Noel Fitch adopts the awe-struck idolatry of her heroine, the den mother of this unruly pack, who sold Joyce's books as if they were saints' medals being offered on the porch of a cathedral. Miss Fitch's subject—Sylvia Beach's publishing *Ulysses* in 1922 and "steering a little bookshop between two wars"—is too trivial to bear the weight of this long-winded and clumsily written book. She treats the opening of the bookstore as a cataclysmic event and fails to see the absurdity of writing parallel lives of James Joyce and Sylvia Beach.

Like Sylvia Beach, Miss Fitch lacks the power of synthesis and gets lost in trivial detail. She discusses the people who visited the shop instead of the value of their work and rarely rises above the level of gossip about Gide, Valéry, Eliot, Woolf, and McAlmon. Nor does she extensively describe or convincingly explain a great number of crucial events in Miss Beach's life: her two years in Spain, her Red Cross work in Serbia, her lesbian relationship with Adrienne Monnier, her move from Miss Monnier's flat after 15 years together, her nerves and migraines, her hysterectomy and radium treatments, her partial suppression of her memoirs.

Bernice Kert, on the other hand, has written, in *The Hemingway Women*, an original and useful book. She began her research at exactly the right time. She interviewed, shortly before they died, Agnes von Kurowsky (the American nurse in Milan who inspired *A Farewell to Arms*), Hadley Richardson (Hemingway's first wife), Jane Mason (the model for Margot Macomber), and Adriana Ivancich (the Renata of *Across the River and into the Trees*). She knew Mary Welsh (his fourth wife) before she lost her memory, and met Martha Gellhorn (his third wife), who is still thriving.

Mrs. Kert is more sympathetic to the novelist's mother, Grace Hemingway, than previous writers, who were influenced by Hemingway's dark revision of his essentially happy childhood after his father's suicide in 1928. She is the first to reveal that Jinny Pfeiffer (the sister of his second wife) was a lesbian, and the first to disclose details about the stunning but unstable sportswoman, Jane Mason, who became Hemingway's mistress in the Thirties. Mrs. Kert gives the fullest account of Duff Twysden (Brett Ashley in *The Sun Also Rises*) and of Martha Gellhorn's early career and her marriage to Hemingway. Unfortunately, Mrs. Kert does not extract the maximum meaning from all this new material, relying as she does on the conventional view of Hemingway given in Carlos Baker's biography and having a very limited understanding of Hemingway's work.

Some significant patterns emerge from Hemingway's failures with these impressive women. Outraged by his mother's domination of his father and embittered by Agnes's rejection of his love (she planned to marry Hemingway before meeting—and being jilted by—the heir to an Italian dukedom), Hemingway was determined to dominate the women in his life. Hadley, whose father also had killed himself, was a year older than Agnes and eight years older than Hemingway. He saw her for only six weeks during the 11 months of their courtship—the trials of separation were an important feature of all his marriages—and wed her after she had been rejected by a musician and released by the death of *her* dominating mother.

Hemingway resisted the temptation of an affair with the wild, hard-drinking Duff Twysden. But when Hadley became matronly and middle-aged after the birth of their son, he was seduced by the wealthy and pious Pauline Pfeiffer, who had become part of their family (another recurrent pattern). Hadley, aware of Hemingway's fear of loneliness, imposed a hundred-day separation on the lovers—which only intensified their passion. The devout Pfeiffer clan made a convenient accommodation to her fornication, his adultery, and the destruction of a family with a small child. They countenanced the annulment of his first marriage (in a Methodist church) and his bogus conversion to Catholicism—but Pauline (despite two dangerous Caesarean births) caused serious sexual problems by refusing to practice birth control. Their luxurious Paris flat (paid for by her millionaire Uncle Gus) was in strong contrast to the grubby dwelling above the sawmill that he had shared with Hadley and would celebrate in the guilt-ridden *Moveable Feast*.

Hemingway's love for Martha Gellhorn, like his earlier love for Agnes, was intensified by war—in this case the Spanish Civil War. Pauline, who tried to be as tolerant of Martha as she had been of Jane Mason, was satirized as Helen in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and as Helen Gordon in *To Have and Have Not*. In a desperate but futile effort to save her marriage, she threatened to jump out of a window. Hemingway, who always needed scapegoats and had blamed Sara Murphy for encouraging Pauline to break up his first marriage, now condemned Jinny Pfeiffer for helping to destroy his second one.

Pauline had begged him not to go to the Spanish war; Martha eventually shamed him into covering World War II as a correspondent. In December 1939 she said, with unusual submissiveness: "I'll never leave you and you can go anywhere you want and do anything you like, only please, I'll come too." But Hemingway, who could be more severe (as Robert Capa observed) than God on a rough day when humanity was misbehaving, destroyed her love with his savage criticism. In March 1944, Martha said, "He woke me to bully, snarl, mock—my crime really was to have been at war when he was not." When Martha failed to comfort him when he was recovering, two months later, from a serious car crash in London, he accepted the consolation of Mary Welsh. But Martha's rejection, like Agnes's, left permanent scars.

In the 1950s Hemingway tried to recapture the past. He had sought older women in his youth and now became infatuated with—though not rejuvenated by—two teenaged girls: Adriana and Valerie. Adriana thought Mary owed

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her gratitude for not stealing Hemingway; Valerie stayed on for the clean-up operation after his suicide. Hemingway also returned to the Veneto, the scene of his youthful war exploits, and consummated his innocent liaison with Adriana in *Across the River* as he had done with Agnes in *A Farewell to Arms.*

Mary had learned to endure an unlimited amount of abuse. Hemingway, who came to resent his dependence upon her, became increasingly cruel as he slipped into mental illness. Despite his psychiatric treatment and earlier suicide attempts, Mary, with typical lack of insight, did not hide the keys to the gun room on that last fatal day because "no one had a right to deny a man access to his possessions."

Hemingway's love for each of his women was inspired by a particular pain or intense excitement: Agnes by his wound, Hadley by Agnes's rejection, Pauline by adultery and money, Duff and Jane by their sexual abandon, Martha and Mary by war, Adriana and Valerie by the desire to recover lost youth. The overwhelming force of Hemingway's ego, which was essential to his artistic greatness, left a terrible trail of destruction. After Hemingway's death Faulkner ironically observed: "His mistake was that he thought he had to marry all of them." □

Something to Declare
By John Simon
Clarkson N. Potter, 442 pp., $19.95

THE HEARTLESS ONE

DAVID EVANIER

"Heartless." "Has fangs." "Lacks compassion." Three people are described this way at every chic gathering you drink at: Ronald Reagan, Norman Podhoretz, and John Simon. Since Simon is the only one of the three gentlemen who is nonpolitical, his crimes should be of a different sort from those attributed to Reagan and Podhoretz. And indeed we see that Simon, as a film critic, is in a class by himself. In fact, he is one of the two or three best critics writing in English in any genre. Such a talent smacks of elitism, and if that isn't heartlessness, I don't know what is.

Simon is really being accused of tactlessness: of saying what may be thought but not uttered. (Vincent Canby and Rex Reed are, by this standard, sublime humanists.) Since film is regarded as a popular, or populist, medium, a critic holding up universal artistic standards seems like an intruder. Simon is a spoil-sport, not allowing his readers to enjoy trash and rationalize it by calling it art.

The alleged basis for calling Simon unfeeling is his habitual descent into rating actors and actresses partly by their physical defects. In *Something to Declare* Glenda Jackson takes the brunt of it, including:

> . . . Glenda Jackson, an actress of some talent, whose entire persona, however, is made up of contempt and even hatred for the audience. In almost every play or film she inflicts her naked body on us, which, considering its quality, is the supreme insult flung at the spectators . . . physical uglinesses from face to feet . . . wretched bosom . . .

This is indeed impossible to countenance, even though the personal assault is intertwined with some perceptive criticism of Miss Jackson as an actress.

But John Simon is a critic who can apply the standards of art to the making of films: He knows what they are. He writes that one film of Claude Chabrol may have "three of the hallmarks of art": "intensity of perception, sympathy for human joy and suffering, and economy of expression without histrionics." In a period in which all art forms are approached by relative, inexact standards, this exact, traditional delineation of what art consists of is lucid and even brave in its simplicity. It implicitly undercuts the trendy emphasis on the avant-garde, with the perverse influence of homosexuality and "camp," the surreal, and the inchoate masquerading as depth. Writing of Lina Wertmuller's *Swept Away by an Unusual Destiny in the Blue Sea of August*, he says:

> Indeed it is the strength of the film that, even on the occasions when it gets vexingly obvious, it can still intromit a troubling whisper beneath or beyond all the shouting. It is as if the gayest moments were edged with a barely visible black border, even as the saddest ones are still bathed in the reflection of a far-off smile.

This collection of film reviews is restricted to foreign films released in the United States and is a definitive portrait of the last 12 years of movie-making. I have seen forty of the films reviewed here. Simon is right about 38 of them.

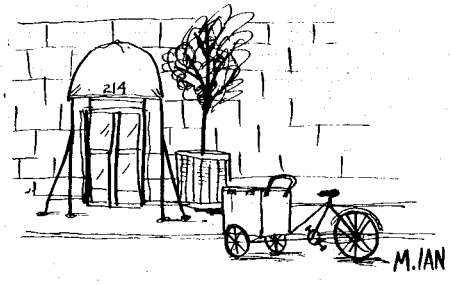
Three general categories emerge: the genuine artists (Ingmar Bergman, Ermanno Olmi, Wertmuller, Bertrand Tavernier, Claude Goretta, Yasujiro Ozu, Fred Schepisi, Marcel Ophuls, Raoul Coutard, Bruce Beresford); the burnt-out former artists (Fellini, Buñuel, Antonioni); and the fakers (Bertolucci, Visconti, Fassbinder, Herzog, Ken Russell). For the latter group, Simon's rage is as intense in their departing as it was in their living:

> I am glad to see the last of a director [Visconti] whom others may have considered a major artist, but who, to me, was no more than a clever poseur exuding a certain type of homosexual sensibility—all gorgeous costuming, lush decor, melodramatic attitudinizing, and very little substance or depth.

As corrosive as Simon can be with the corrupters and despoilers, he is even more brilliant with films he admires: His reviews of Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage*, Schepisi's *Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, Beresford's *Breaker Morant* and *Don's Party*, Goretta's *The Lacemaker*, Wertmuller's *Seven Beauties*, Louis Malle's *Lacombe, Lucien*, Ozu's *Tokyo Story*, and Coutard's *Hoa Binh* transcend the genre of criticism. They are passionate discourses on art, life, history, and the human condition and paeans to artistic achievement.

But Simon's negation of trash is equally important, for it has the same purpose of upholding artistic standards. He knows that trash is not a matter of opinion and dispute. A critic needs to know this.

He is usually alone in lamenting the decline and fall of a great filmmaker at the very moment when practically everyone else is heralding the peak of his talents: Buñuel's *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, Fellini's *Amarcord.*



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He writes of Buñuel, but referring to a wider malaise: "Today's bourgeoisie has given up most of its notions of respectability, and tolerates—when it doesn't downright revere—the most preposterous forms of 'art.'" Who else would say of *Last Tango in Paris*—a film Pauline Kael described as "having made the strongest impression on me in almost twenty years of reviewing"—that it is "mindless and pointless"?

Reviewing the Eighth New York Film Festival, Simon comments:

> The films were, with a very few exceptions, either leftist or homosexual propaganda, and in especially felicitous cases, both. . . . there is something very attractive about commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the toilers, the radical idealists—at least as such commitment looks on film. Who would not espouse the ideals of the Left, without its bureaucratic despotism, its repression, its anti-individualism? Certainly a film advocating the rule of the people is more appetizing than one advocating Doris Day or America *über alles*; but when the vision becomes reality, the commissar and the prison camps prove rather less desirable than the superstar and the chain stores. It could be argued that a film is not necessarily responsible for its possible political consequences if it is a valid work of art; most of the films at the Eighth Festival were, however, unmitigated trash.

What the pedants do not understand is that Simon's rage and fury are due to his concern for art. He is the most fair-minded of critics, constantly on the lookout for glimmers of talent in failed works as well as rising to lyrical heights about great ones. What he is constantly seeking for is (as he puts it in discussing Claude Goretta's work) "that eccentric, slightly incongruous quality that characterizes human behavior when it is latched onto by an eye that is both penetrating and poetic and recognizes the quirk-atoms of which matter-of-fact reality is composed." He writes of the couple in *Cousin, Cousine* that "they fall not exactly in love, but in sympathy with each other." It is this crystalline unity of thought and prose that provokes his critics to call Simon "literary." Or perhaps they are incensed at the knowledge and background he brings to films that are made from novels, such as *The Tin Drum* and *Death in Venice*.

And heartless? Oh boy. Here he comes again on Werner Herzog:

"Allen Drury's most commercial effort since 'Advise and Consent.'"*

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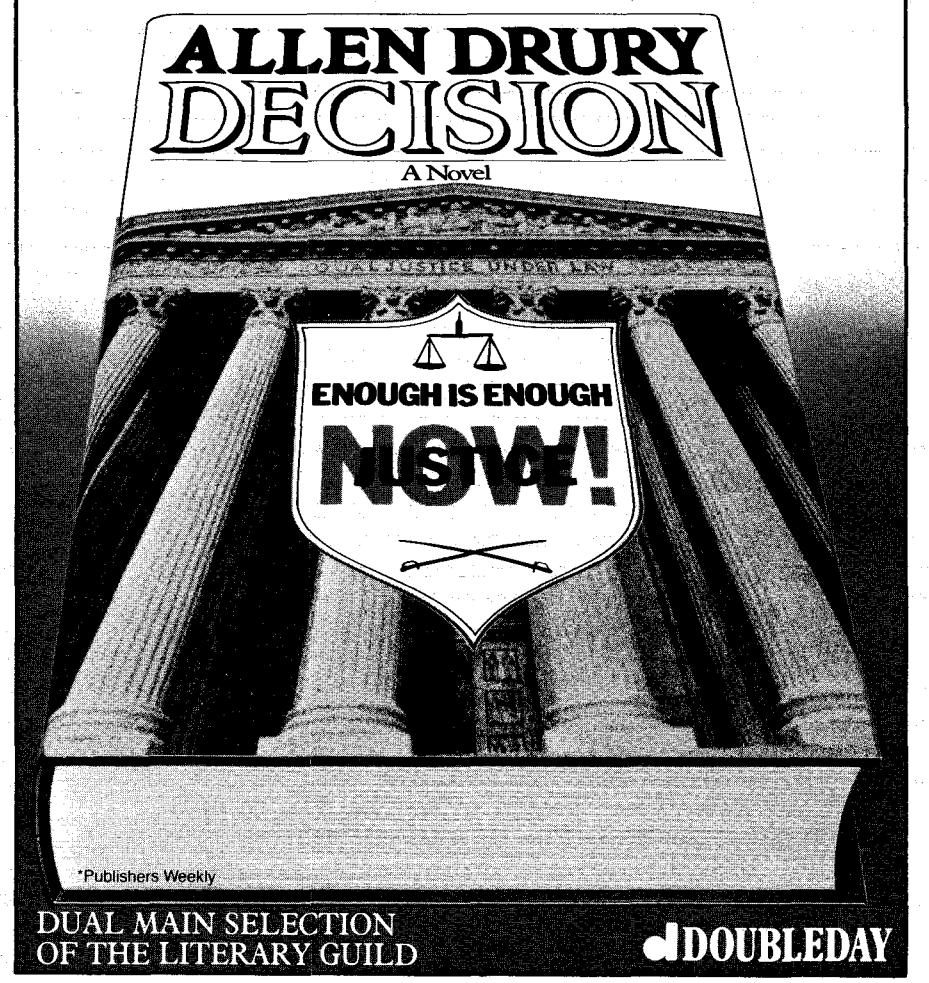

*Publishers Weekly

DUAL MAIN SELECTION OF THE LITERARY GUILD

DOUBLEDAY

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I myself have, by turns, fought to stay awake or struggled to control my bile through such items as *Even Dwarfs Started Small*, *Fata Morgana*, and *Land of Silence and Darkness*, in which a combined effort to shock, mystify, and hypnotize neutralized itself eventually into numbing dullness out of which only an intermittent spurt of pretentiousness or bloody-mindedness would rouse the stomach or the soul to renewed retching.

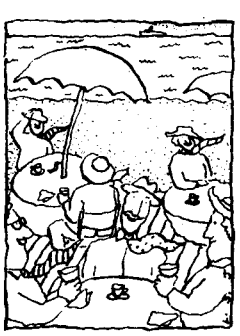
Such a statement can carry authority only if the critic has earned the right to utter it through his perspicacity and wisdom. Simon has earned that privilege, and keeps us out of movie theaters where heartless directors have fashioned films that send us out into the night lost. Like Edmund Wilson in another era and context, Simon safeguards our highest artistic achievements. □

DELECTATIONS

THOUGHTS ON PICNIC DRINKS

NIKA HAZELTON

On any picnic it is essential that there be enough cold stuff to drink—both alcoholic and non-alcoholic: There are people who don't drink alcohol, and they must be provided for. I don't think sweet carbonated soft drinks are a very good idea, since they tend to promote thirst rather than quench it; lemonade and pure fruit juices are much better, and, of course, plain water. But enough of these abstemious souls for the moment. Let us deal first with the alcohol situation.



On picnics, hard liquor should be consumed with caution. But I think it is an excellent idea to dispense one or more slugs of hooch as soon as the picnic site is reached. This cheers hosts and guests alike, and puts them in a good mood while awaiting the food, especially if it still needs to be cooked. By the way, I must say that bottled cocktails, though not exactly nectar, are much better than the mixed drinks many people make from scratch.

The best all-round picnic drink is champagne. With champagne, you don't need cocktails or highballs first. Champagne is festive as no other wine is, and it brings out the best in people, making even bores into wits—or at least into tolerable conversationalists. It is not necessary to take vintage or even the best non-vintage champagne to a picnic, but it is important to take a decent sparkling wine, and enough of it.

I think white wine is nicest on a picnic, being more refreshing, provided it can be served really well chilled. Rosé is also good, with the same proviso. Red wine, not needing to be chilled, is easier, but it should not be the best red wine. Great wine does not like being joggled, and wine can't help being joggled on the way to a picnic. All picnic wine, of course, should be good drinking wine, with body and bouquet, but it would be idiotically wasteful to take along exquisite vintages. I leave the choice to you, your conscience, and your wine merchant.

Lemonade is the best non-alcoholic picnic drink; it should be icy cold, made from fresh lemons, not too sweet, and not diluted by too much ice. Pure fruit juices come next. Fresh orange juice, in a thermos, is by far the most attractive possibility. However, when children and non-drinkers are among the guests, make sure that there is something for every taste, including, if possible, tomato juice. These other juices may be chilled in the can and opened when needed. Very good, too, with chilled water and a cube or two of ice are the pure fruit syrups imported from Europe, —mostly from Italy and Germany. (Cherry, strawberry, red currant, or, especially, raspberry syrup, if you were a child in Germany; grenadine, if you were a child in France; or tamarind syrup if you were a child in Italy, was what you got when the grown-ups drank coffee or wine at an outing.)

There is of course beer, which many picnickers adore. I don't, because I think it makes one logy. But this is a matter of taste. And here is a word of caution about cooling bottles in a stream or lake. Unless you *really* know how to tie a knot that won't come undone, don't put the bottles in the water hanging from a string. Over and over again I've seen an empty loop of string pulled out of the cooling waters rather than the bottle. It's much better to put the bottles into a fisherman's net, or a sturdy pillowcase, and drop this in the water. Also, be sure to fasten the bundle well and tie it firmly to a stake on the river bank or lake shore, or it will be carried away.

Hot coffee or tea is another essential, whether made on the spot or taken along in a thermos. Iced coffee or tea does not have the same reviving effect after a meal in the sun. It is also a good idea to take along coffee or tea to drink on the trip, going and coming back (especially coming back), rather than having to rely on roadside stands that may be few and far between. Above all don't forget the can opener and the corkscrew, without which all your other efforts are in vain.

Here are a couple of special picnic drinks:

Cider, Plain or Fancy

Apple juice or soft cider makes an excellent picnic drink when it is well chilled. Children love it. Grown-ups can make their cider grown-up by adding a jigger of brandy and putting an ice cube or two into the drink. Better still, instead of the brandy, add Calvados or applejack.

Summer Eggnog

A perfect ending for an outdoor meal or barbecue, when a smooth, cold dessert is wanted with the right flavor and texture contrast to the other courses.

½ cup sugar
6 eggs, separated
4 cups milk, scalded
¼ teaspoon salt
2 cups heavy cream, whipped
½ cup brandy
¼ cup rum
Nutmeg

Since eggnog must be served very cold, chill the ingredients and the container in which you will serve it. If possible, serve the eggnog from a bowl set in crushed ice. Beat ¼ cup of the sugar into the egg yolks. Slowly stir in the milk. Cook in the top of a double boiler over hot, not boiling, water, stirring constantly, until the mixture coats a spoon. Chill. Add the salt to the egg whites and beat them until stiff. While beating, add the remaining ¼ cup of sugar gradually. Fold the egg whites and the whipped cream separately into the custard. Stir in the brandy and the rum. Chill for several hours. At serv-

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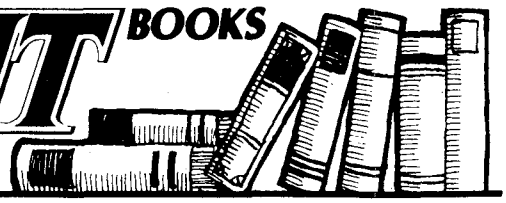
THE RIGHT BOOKS



CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY'S *The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union** (The Orwell Press of the Committee for the Free World, 211 East 51st Street, New York, N.Y. 10022; $1.25) is a little book of 57 pages and about the size of a postage stamp, which, like a stamp, should be issued by the millions and directed everywhere. Of course I am not temerarious enough to suggest that it will or even might be—the Western intellectual community being as indifferent a carrier of sensible ideas as the U.S. Postal Service is of first-class mail. How shrewd of the Orwell Press to issue Bukovsky's book with red covers. Perhaps it will thereby find many unwitting purchasers in those dark, crabbed bookshops that exist wherever peace marchers are found.

The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union is, quite simply, the best essay I have ever read on the subject. In perhaps twenty thousand words Bukovsky explains where the peace movement comes from, and what its purposes are; how it has been popularly misinterpreted in the West, and why; and the possible consequences of this misinterpretation. In the process he manages also to provide an intuitively brilliant gloss upon the bipolar nature of the twentieth-century mind.

"Probably," Bukovsky begins (and what a beginning!), "from the very first, Bolshevik ideologists were aware of how powerful a weapon for them the universal craving for peace would be—how gullible and irrational people could be whenever they were offered the slightest temptation to believe that peace was at hand." The Bolshevik party came to power in 1917 in a bid for "peace," which of course meant simply the transformation of war into civil war: and "right up to the eve of the Nazi invasion of Russia, Communist propaganda did everything possible to dissuade the United States from helping the European democracies in their war against Nazi Germany." After World War II, when the Soviet Union was busy engorging any edible country within reach and needed peace to do it in, and to catch up as well in the production of nuclear weapons, "the passion of peace," as Bukovsky puts it, "was resurrected." The purpose of the new Western peace movement was set by the Kremlin: to scare the bourgeoisie with the hobgoblin of nuclear war; to force Western opinion to acquiesce in the seizure of Eastern Europe; to foment discord in the Western Alliance and move Western Europe to the left; and to slow the development of Western armaments. Then Stalin died, and his crimes were disclosed; concurrently, the insufficiency of the Soviet economy made itself felt again. The USSR needed Western goods and credit; needed to legitimize its territorial acquisitions. The result was that it offered détente: "The West had grown so exhausted by the constant tension of the previous decades that the temptation to relax, when offered by the Kremlin, was simply irresistible."

MUCH THE same motive, Bukovsky says, lies behind the current "peace" offensive. ("What has happened to make [the prospect of nuclear war] more real than it was, say, two or three years ago?") In this instance, the Soviet Union felt that in some important sense the tide was running against it. Even Western politicians were beginning to smell a rat in détente; the economy was a disaster area; and the Kremlin's invasion of Afghanistan was being denounced even by the Communist parties of other nations. Events, and the perception of events, were unfavorable to Moscow: It was time for another propaganda blitz—time to fan the flames of world indignation against the imperialists. In this campaign their allies are all the West's "useful idiots": the new appeasers, who "know that the only real source of danger is the Soviet Union and that anything which might make the Soviets angry is dangerous for that very reason." □

*Published originally in *Commentary*, 1982.

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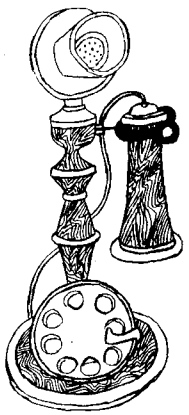

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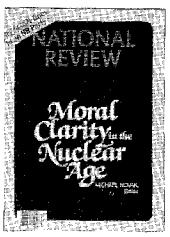

your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

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ing time, pour into a chilled bowl and sprinkle with nutmeg. YIELD: About 10 cups. □

The GIMLET EYE

A HUNDRED-MILE RACE

D. KEITH MANO

They run like broken gate-leg tables. Like a square paint roller. Like human culture lag. Like, like I'm reaching metaphor burnout while I watch. Drag and hump, step and filch, stop and go like an elevator with all the buttons pushed by some prankish kid. Most women are overweight here: their body English is ungrammatical, full of solecisms. The men resemble a panicking sociology department, thin, often bearded and weak of eye, with gefilte-fish color skin. Maybe six have elegant strides: these will probably drop out, exhausted, too fast for the pace. One is thudding along with his portable radio. Two are over sixty. Yellow Shirt spindles forward with such tortuous miscoordination that he must be what they call, in the *New York Post*, a drug-related incident. Behind him, Green Hat has been tottering, tiny birdstep after tiny birdstep, the way you or I would put on shrunk pantyhose. What we have here is a different kind of special Olympics.

And yet these men and women are superbly conditioned (as is an accountant superbly conditioned for, well, accounting). They intend to run, stumble, crawl one hundred miles between 6 P.M. and maybe noon tomorrow. In they come through a center-field gate at Shea Stadium, then around the quarter-mile warning track and out again. There are no more than three hundred spectators at this sixth annual TAC/USA one-hundred-mile ultra-marathon. Stu Mittleman, who has won twice—record time of 12:56:34—is favored man (he'll quit after being gored accidentally by bicycle handlebars in the Shea parking lot). Marcy Schwam is top woman (a bad heel will be her Achilles). Think of it: one hundred miles. I get tired driving that distance. Imagine what their sweatsocks must taste like.

Running, as you know, is the national sport of elitist-environmentalism. Running, mind, not sprinting: sprinting sounds too competitive, almost capitalist. Also, runners are clean: they require no emission device. When New York invented the marathon (New York, not Boston or Marathon—events only exist after they occur in New York), your designer headband set ran full out. Today 60,000 apply for admission and 14,000-plus make it: that famous loneliness of the long-distance runner is getting rather crowded. (No one, not even the winner, will *win*—that would be unsportsmanlike—you merely *finish*.) And average income is $25,000 to $35,000: 70 per cent are college-educated. Anyhow, sanitation men who lift 1,075 trash barrels each day don't feel the same compulsion to jog before work. Marathon people, in general, are those who can afford their best fantasy: heated towel bars or homebrew ginseng juice or the image of Athlete for a Day.

But by 1982 marathoning had become hardly more than a dash. Heck, 13,747 of 14,308 finished the 26.2 miles last year: not what you'd call an exclusive circle. So ultra-marathoners, with some athletic skill and more monomania, have extended distance until ideally they narrow their field to, oh, one. Gloria Averbuch of the New York Roadrunners Club told me: "They're a peculiar people. Most ultra-marathoners are quite introspective. I would say some of them, many of them, are totally obsessed. Stu Mittleman, coming into this, trained 120, 130 miles a week. Marcy Schwam over one hundred." Your top star may get some sort of sponsorship from Nike or Gatorade or Bellevue. The rest need pliable work schedules and children who are patient as a bottle gourd. Each is assigned at least one handler. "They need them not only for food and water but for friendship out there." The handler of a rich Denver lawyer will have banana and Gatorade, calcium and potassium and Thermotab pills, salve and ice and compassion ready at each pit stop. And it can get worse. Later this summer they'll hold a *six-day* race. To my mind their chariots of fire have more than one wheel loose.

With an exception here and there these are not graceful tracksters: they don't run, they sort of elapse. Marcy Schwam, despite her hundred-mile stamina, has cellulite just like your wife. Woman No. 98 is positively fat, if fat can be positive. Running doesn't trim you. Club doctor Andres Rodriguez said, "Most of the weight you lose here is by dehydration. All they have to do is go home and have a gallon of water and weigh essentially the same. You burn calories but not that much. Thirty-five hundred calories is one pound of fat. Theoretically you burn 1,200 calories per hour running, so one pound is three hours of running. The easiest thing would be to stop eating for some while." What ultra-sport does is perform an inner cosmetic job. They become athletes by accumulated service time, you might say. Neither Rod Carew nor Wayne Gretzky nor Herschel Walker has done what they do. As if writing 333,000 pages made you a writer: never mind syntax or content or felicity.

RUNNING IN this kind of physical hyperbole tends to subvert the innate difference between sex and age and ability. Gloria Averbuch has said that, as distance is padded out, a woman will beat men. I believe it: some of these guys couldn't run in the family. Marcy Schwam once finished second overall in a six-day race. Ultra-marathoning, moreover, throws squid juice on youth worship. Average age at Shea is 37 for men, 37.7 for women. You need a certain mentality, an athletic literalism, to compete. "In marathons they train like you do for ten miles, steadily without nourishment. Ultra-marathoning, more than anything, tests someone's will." This race is seldom to the swift.

But that's America: let everyone be champ for one week. Climb the World Trade Center, compact yourself in a phone booth. Listen, I'm a champ. Some while ago (see *Sport Illustrated*, Non. 18, 1974) I made up this game called Feetball. Podiatric tennis it was. In no

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time, against all comers (not too many came), I won a world title. Then I retired, taking the sole regulation Feetball court with me. Numero Uno: and I didn't have to run five hours a night. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE LONG WAY HOME, *by Lisa St. Aubin de Terán (Harper & Row, 183 pp., $12.95). The Long Way Home* is a short book, but in its pages a dying land and its rich past are evoked in a multi-hued tapestry woven from the births and deaths, triumphs and disasters of the ancient Beltrán family. The Beltráns arrived in the Momboy Valley of the Andes Mountains with the Conquistadores, and their estates flourished in its rich soil. Diego, a political exile and heir to the family estate, returns with his wife, Linda, a young woman in love with the past, and the two attempt to return the estate to its former productivity. As the ancient enemies, drought and pestilence, get the upper hand, Diego retreats to his books and dreams, while Linda carries on the struggle; but, as the valley continues to die, Linda has time for the memories of an old family retainer who has recognized in her the chronicler of the family fate. Benito recalls for Linda the lives of Maria Calendria, the willful beauty who precipitated a massacre; Arturio Lino, the murderer; and the Beltrán sisters who "played their lives in threes and twos" in an endless card game continuing until both were dead. *The Long Way Home* deals with people who live passionately and who are too busy dealing with the realities of maintaining life to have time to question its meaning. It is a refreshing departure from the preoccupation with alienation and change of so much recent fiction. A day arrives when Linda must leave the Momboy Valley, and as she views it for the last time she feels the child in her womb "turn and slide until the weight of its head rested in her groin, and it seemed symbolic that it should have been so crowned before leaving the land of its ancestors; and it seemed like a good sign of her child who was thus laden with history before it was born." It seems a good sign to me that there are still writers who recognize the connection of the living with the past.

NORMA B. WILLIAMSON

THE SELECTED POETRY OF R. M. RILKE, *edited by Jonathan Galassi (Random House, 400 pp., $25).* This perceptive and authoritative rendering of Rilke's lyrics provides both the average reader and the scholarly enthusiast with the proper tools to appreciate what has been one of the most powerful influences on American poets for the past fifty years. One has only to read Robert Lowell's *Life Studies* or John Berryman's *Songs* to see how Rilke's *Book of Pictures*, *The Duino Elegies*, and the *Sonnets to Orpheus* have been a major inspiration. Rilke's moving identification with and detachment from earth's transient beauties, his joyous acceptance of death, his search for absolutes, his openness to renewal and transformation —these are very familiar themes. But his legacy lies elsewhere: in his rich, deep, incessant metaphors; in his modern voice, so terse and classical in its utterance; in his artistic integrity. Stephen Mitchell, the translator, has captured Rilke's unparalleled tone to a truly astounding degree. This collection—the notes, the poet's letters, the probing introduction by Robert Hass—are a must for any lover of poetry.

NEREO E. CONDINI

RICKENBACKER

(Continued from page 1014)

abridged). There was no written work (that would have involved a "demand"). I knew of course that Montaigne's tutor had his young charge speaking Latin before he spoke French, but I wasn't sure how much we could accomplish *viva voce* in only one hour a day. I added Latin to the three or four languages we use casually around the house during the day, and perhaps that helped to keep Hawk's ear in tune. In any case the upshot was that Hawk developed a remarkable ability to translate, at sight, from English into Latin, and of course from Latin into English.

Hawk took a placement test and went straight into the second-year Latin class at St. George's, a good school that made the mistake of using the Cambridge Latin Course. This is a series of Dick-and-Jane pamphlets machine-translated into stupefying Latin and aimed at the television audience. Two years of that drivel have quenched Hawk's thirst for the classical languages; next year he switches to Spanish.

Ada says I should "teach" Latin, but that means a class and homework and the almost complete loss of the sense of surprise as a trail is followed, as we did, whimsically (Cicero would have enjoyed that alteration of syntax in midstream). Latin—*my* Latin—is something spoken at the kitchen table, between jokes, over tea and cookies, and with the fragrance of supper on the stove. Word gets around (*rumor volat*) and I've had other scholars since, but I cherish that year with Hawk most of all. □

SAXON

(Continued from page 1017)

forget the little algebra they know and then be asked to return the following year and take Algebra II and chemistry. They do not elect these courses because they are not prepared, and they know it. They haven't quit—they have been driven away.

Neither are they ready for logarithms and other advanced algebra concepts. They need another year of algebra fundamentals in order to learn how to solve all the algebra problems they will be confronted with in chemistry. This will free the chemistry teacher to teach chemistry instead of spending much of the year trying to teach ratio and per cent —concepts that should have been mastered in algebra class.

I have written the necessary book, and I call it Algebra 1½; my pre-algebra book is Algebra ½. This series of books used together should raise SAT scores by fifty to sixty points immediately.

Call to Action

The decline in SAT scores has been discussed by many who point fingers, but no one has done anything about it. Now is the time to reclaim what is ours. Children need to learn such new-math topics as are relevant. They also need to be masters of what we call the old math. We must no longer drive them away from mathematics, chemistry, and physics. These children want to learn and will work if their efforts are rewarded with learning.

It is time for competent educators and parents to take a stand. You have been silent for twenty years for fear of exposing your ignorance. Now an engineer has stepped forward and announced that the emperor is wearing no clothes. Call your local school board and ask it if it has investigated my books. Write your newspapers and TV stations and ask for an investigative report. If I am a fraud, then I should be exposed; but if I speak the truth, then I deserve support. This is a call to action. We can turn this thing around completely in less than three years. By then, I will have books in print for the fifth through the 11th grades—and the fall in math scores will be just a bad dream. No amount of federal money will even make a dent, but a concentrated effort from the supply side can do it all. □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Kissinger & the Right

On The Right

New York, July 29—**Q.** Why did Reagan set up a Central American Commission?

A. You tell me. Why *shouldn't* he have set up a Central American Commission?

Q. Well, some people are saying that after all it's Reagan's foreign policy, and he ought to go to Congress with his policy and get support, or lose it. Isn't setting up a commission to focus on Central America a democratic evasion of sorts?

A. Why? The existence of a commission doesn't diminish the authority of Congress. A President is entitled to try to drum up support for policies he favors in any way he wants to, isn't he?

Q. Ah ha! You've indirectly confirmed my point. He has his policy, and he simply wants a bipartisan commission for the purpose of manipulating public opinion. I wouldn't pay you much as an advocate, Buster.

A. A President sets up a commission composed of people who have public constituencies. Sure, he expects that commission to come up with recommendations that make sense to him. But the reason he expects that, is that he is confident his general policies are intelligently directed toward the amelioration of a national problem. He therefore assumes that the commission is going to come up with sensible proposals, but that they will be removed from cookie-cutter partisanship.

Q. What do you mean by "cookie-cutter partisanship"? You always use such long words, Buster.

A. I mean the frame of mind that assumes that anything that comes out of that particular oven is going to look like that particular cookie, concerning which I have made up my mind that it's spinach, and the hell with it. The frame of mind that says, If Reagan is opposed to food stamps, I'm opposed to his MX policies.

Q. But if the commission is going to make recommendations satisfactory to Mr. Reagan, isn't it, in effect, an agent of Ronald Reagan?

A. No. It is precisely not an agent of President Reagan. It is a body of prominent Americans, which includes Republicans, Democrats, and independents, who will therefore come to conclusions Mr. Reagan expects to find persuasive. Consider, for instance, the presence on that commission of Lane Kirkland. He is a prominent Democrat, institutionally opposed to Republican domestic policies. But he is also an anti-Communist. The views of Lane Kirkland in respect of our policy in Central America are more authentically transmitted through a bipartisan commission than through his conventional forum as head of the AFL-CIO. If the head of the NAACP thought it wise to back Reagan's policy in Central America, it would be easier for him to take that position via a bipartisan commission on foreign policy than at a convention of the NAACP, which is preprogrammed to denounce Reagan.

Q. But why should Democrats lend themselves to such indirection?

A. Because they are not Democrats to the exclusion of all else. They can come out for sensible policies in Central America and still hope to beat Reagan because they oppose other of his policies.

Q. Why are so many American conservatives opposed to Henry Kissinger's heading up the commission?

A. Because—and this is very sad to relate, because these gentlemen are my brothers—a lot of American conservatives have not done their homework, and are coasting on old stereotypes. It's about as accurate to say that Henry Kissinger is soft on the Communist question as it is to say that black children are sustained on watermelon.

Q. Do you deny that Senator Jesse Helms, and the leader of the Conservative Caucus, and the publisher of the *Conservative Digest* protested Henry Kissinger's naming?

A. No, I simply deny that they are familiar with what Henry Kissinger has said and done during the past ten years. Do they know that he advised Ronald Reagan, just after he was nominated, to give top priority to exertions in Central America? That seven years ago he said the United States had to destroy the myth of Cuban invincibility in Africa? That he tried to save Angola? That he recommended continuing resistance in Vietnam?

Q. But you admit we lost Vietnam and Angola and Nicaragua . . .

A. And Dean Acheson was Secretary of State when we lost China. It took more than twenty years before some American conservatives finally came around to recognizing that Dean Acheson was on our side, whatever were his mistakes in China. Kissinger has the same problem. Only, in the last analysis it isn't his problem, it's Jesse Helms's problem, because I know the senator, and know that he wants to pursue forceful anti-Communist policies, which is why he should be welcoming the Kissinger commission instead of criticizing it.

Q. Will you take any practical measures?

A. To do what?

Q. To bring around Jesse Helms?

A. Yes. I will send him a copy of Kissinger's two books. If, after he reads them, he blames Kissinger for the loss of Vietnam, then I'll say to him, "Jesse, that's like blaming Robert E. Lee for the loss of the Civil War." Then he'll understand. □

THE MEANING OF CIVIL RIGHTS

New York, July 27—If you are what the philosophers call an epistemological optimist, you will find it difficult to believe that, at the Senate hearing the other day, they had to bring in a letter from Dr. Martin Luther King Sr. to establish that Morris Abram believed in civil rights. At the rate the doubters were doubting, it would not have been surprising if one of the senators had doubted that the man sitting there was indeed Morris Abram. Perhaps he can bring a letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe testifying that Morris Abram is opposed to slavery.

The fanatics on this issue know that, in opposing the nomination of Morris Abram, John Bunzel, and Robert Destro to the Civil Rights Commission, they have a considerable problem hanging on

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to plausibility. Accordingly, they decided to shift the grounds of their argument. Mr. Julius Chambers of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund put it this way: "Committee action on the merits of these nominations is unwarranted because the President has no legal authority to fire members of the Civil Rights Commission, and there are thus no vacancies on the commission for these nominees to fill." To say there are no vacancies to fill brings to mind the famous response of G. D. H. Cole to the British railroad conductor. Cole had boarded a train that had made an unscheduled stop. "Sir," the conductor said to him, "this train doesn't stop here." "That's right," said Professor Cole. "And I'm not on it."

WHAT THE critics are saying is that President Reagan had no right to fire the three commissioners who are being replaced. Unhappily, the use of language is informal. Because what they meant to say was that they didn't want the President to fire the three former commissioners. And what they really mean is that they don't think Mr. Reagan should have Mr. Reagan's views. That is a perfectly defensible position, but their quarrel is not really with Mr. Reagan, but with the American voters, who, knowing Mr. Reagan's views, nevertheless proceeded to make him President of the United States, and—what is relevant here—the man at whose pleasure the members of the United States Commission on Civil Rights serve. Senator Biden of Delaware concedes that Mr. Abram and the others have "impeccable" credentials, but advises that he will nevertheless vote against them on the grounds that what is at stake is the "independence" of the commission. It is difficult to understand why the Civil Rights Commission should be made up of men of "independent" views. Presumably they should believe in civil rights for everyone, as the nominees indeed do. If Ronald Reagan could dictate their beliefs, presumably he'd have begun by causing them to be Republicans. All three are in fact Democrats.

In questioning Morris Abram, committee members brought up the question of women's rights, and he answered that he believes in them, but does not believe that the Equal Rights Amendment is necessary. Why? Because, he said, the Fourteenth Amendment "absolutely protects women as well as men in all their fundamental rights." Mr. Abram is not easily dismissed when he gives legal opinions. His clients pay him $200 an hour to give his legal views.

What about busing? Mr. Abram said he doesn't think that court-ordered busing is necessarily "a good thing" or that it has always served the best interests of civil rights. That is at the heart of the controversy, and legal mumbo-jumbo about whether the President has the right to hire and fire his own appointees was decided when the Senate declined to convict President Andrew Johnson after he was impeached by the House of Representatives. And that happened even before Morris Abram came out for civil rights.

The controversy is important because it will establish whether straight thought on the matter of civil rights can survive the political process. The vote on these three gentlemen will say whether in the opinion of the majority of the Senate it is necessary to appease the fanatics in order to survive politically. Senator Biden and others are scrambling for grounds on which to oppose the nominees while still acknowledging their qualifications to serve. They can then have it both ways. They are not fooling more courageous legislators who recognize that the day on which Morris Abram's qualifications as a civil-rights activist are challenged, the issue of civil rights has fallen outside the bounds of definition. When that happens, language escapes control. "If in order to be in favor of civil rights I need to be in favor of busing, then I am no longer in favor of civil rights." That is the statement the current controversy is in danger of midwifing. □

GRIM NEWS

New York, Aug. 3—The report of the Center for the Study of Social Policy in Washington deserves the attention of precisely those least likely to give it that attention, namely black leaders, and white liberals. What it tells us is that national welfare policies have failed to help the average American black. No, that's not quite right. They have done damage to the average American black.

And that report merely confirms what a few people have intuited, documented in part, and spoken about, often in whispers, over a period of years. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan quietly abandoned his backing of a guaranteed annual wage after studying the effects that experiments with welfare on that scale had on family life in two American communities. Professor Thomas Sowell of the Hoover Institution has been saying it. And, most consistently and most methodically, George Gilder has been saying it.

The welfare system has been driving apart black families. Consider the following figures:

In 1960, the median income of black families was 55 per cent of the median income of white families. Quite a disparity. Now if you have a huge calculator, sit down and try to count all the programs designed to close that gap—everything from Head Start to anti-discrimination programs to affirmative action to increased welfare payments.

Twenty-one years go by. In 1981—and this is before the recession of 1982, bear in mind—the median income of black families was: 56 per cent of white income. How is that for progress. From 55 per cent to 56 per cent 21 years later.

But look about, as the Center for the Study of Social Policy did, for correlations, and quickly you find the relevant one. It has to do with whether the black family has two parents living at home, or just one.

In 1960, 21 per cent of black families with children had only a single parent living at home.

In 1981, that figure had risen to an extraordinary 47 per cent. Something, during those 21 years, caused the black father to leave his family. Abandoned children suffer other than economic punishments, but consider, for the moment, just these.

THE FIGURES for 1960, comparing black and white income in families with both parents working, are not available, but those for 1968 are. And in that year, black families with two parents working earned 73 per cent as much as similar white families. By 1981, that figure had risen significantly, to 84 per cent. So that as of this writing, the income of black families where two parents are working is almost comparable to that of white families with two parents working. The huge discrepancy occurs because approximately one-half of the black families have only one parent living at home. The figure for white families is: 86 per cent with two parents.

Will we hear these figures discussed by Benjamin Hooks at the next meeting of the NAACP? Will they blame Ronald Reagan for massive desertion, by husbands, of wives and children? Jesse Jackson is capable of independent thought. It was he who, several years ago, startled his brothers by saying he could not understand why black young people who stood out as basketball players didn't also stand out as mathematicians, but that to do this, they needed to work at it. Here is an historical moment for Jesse Jackson, to face the consequences of liberal programs that have had such drastic effects on black families. It is never easy to abandon cherished ideological nostrums, among them that the way to care for a minority is to load that minority down with welfare benefits. But if it can be seen that those benefits are hurting a minority, is there left the intellectual courage to make that point? It comes down to this: Those black political leaders who have been encouraging one social approach are left now with alternatives. Either they acknowledge that they have been mistaken, and get behind true political reform. Or they continue to blight the lives of the people they ostensibly represent. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Great Britain's Prime Minister, 1756-57 — 10 25 76 90 124 137 145 172 180

B. The coming of Jesus Christ into the world — 171 69 173 201 82 155

C. One who might be appointed to handle the affairs of a bankrupt catcher — 194 117 107 146 207 197 219 156

D. The price at which a real-estate agent likes to buy rich soil (2 words) — 200 157 111 88 91 108 119 28 8

E. What Bertelli, Carideo, Lujack, and Stuhldreher were called (2nd of 2 words) — 213 106 13 179 92

F. Quakers believe in the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the ___ of Philadelphia — 48 7 3 79 51 192 54 67 89 128 134 182

G. A supporter or follower — 60 49 104 9 120 98 208 139

H. A group of the Lesser Antilles (fol. by Islands) — 68 112 153 34 14 149 57

I. Men connected with the temple (O.T.) — 37 40 50 59 81 126 1 73

J. One of the oldest nations in the world — 72 164 116 203 58

K. An English clergyman in America (1592?-1679) — 133 22 30 36 114 53 78 83 121 131 38

L. One of our relatives — 144 165 61 46 150 154

M. Severe in appearance — 148 43 70 62 151 168 193

N. The mother of invention — 175 71 95 32 110 140 16 21 210

O. A female character in a Shakespeare title — 4 6 15 23 65

P. Mental or emotional balance — 167 176 11 109 136 123 216 26 138 158 189

Q. A type of fever or a type of heart disease — 199 63 141 93 191 174 130 162 103

R. "I am the Root and Offspring of David, the ___ Star shining bright."—Rev. 22:16 (New American) — 159 66 44 84 169 87 127

S. Unscramble WE HAVE VOTERS to get a song (3 words) — 86 118 132 135 214 161 181 24 47 152 190 202

T. A neigh vote by the horsy set? — 184 64 85 204 17 186 166 196

U. A streetcar rider who stood on his own hind legs — 188 5 29 113 160 42 122 129 209 211 55

V. Type of triangle — 19 31 99 177 74 102

W. What the bureaucrat did with the complaint — 27 217 12 35 185

X. A fundamental of the faith for Christians — 2 94 205 163 125 100 18

Y. Don't play these — 39 105 142 45 96 75 220

Z. A mischievous person — 52 56 20

a. A calamitous event — 218 178 147 183 195 33 77 206

b. Great Britain's Prime Minister, 1945-51 — 80 170 187 115 143 198

c. A noncommercial vessel — 97 215 41 101 212

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1034 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

						1 I	2 X		3 F	4 O		5 U	6 O	7 F		8 D	9 G	10 A	11 P
12 W	13 E	14 H	15 O	16 N	17 T	18 X		19 V	20 Z		21 N	22 K	23 O		24 S	25 A	26 P	27 W	28 D
29 U	30 K		31 V	32 N	33 a	34 H	35 W	36 K	37 I		38 K	39 Y	40 I		41 c	42 U	43 M	44 R	45 Y
46 L		47 S	48 F	49 G		50 I	51 F	52 Z		53 K	54 F	55 U	56 Z	57 H		58 J	59 I	60 G	61 L
	62 M	63 Q	64 T		65 O	66 R	67 F	68 H	69 B		70 M	71 N	72 J	73 I	74 V		75 Y	76 A	77 a
78 K		79 F	80 b	81 I	82 B	83 K	84 R	85 T		86 S	87 R		88 D	89 F	90 A		91 D	92 E	93 Q
94 X	95 N	96 Y		97 c	98 G	99 V		100X	101c	102V		103Q	104G	105Y	106E	107C	108D		109P
110N		111D	112H	113U	114K	115b	116J		117C	118S	119D	120G		121K	122U	123P	124A	125X	126I
127F		128F	129U		130Q	131K	132S		133K	134F	135S	136P	137A		138P	139G	140N		141Q
142Y	143b	144L	145A	146C	147a		148M	149H	150L		151M	152S	153H	154L		155B	156C	157D	158P
159R	160U	161S	162Q	163X	164J		165L	166T	167P	168M		169R	170b		171B	172A		173B	174Q
175N	176P	177V	178a	179E	180A	181S	182F		183a	184T	185W		186T	187b	188U		189P	190S	191Q
192F	193M	194C	195a		196T	197C	198b	199Q		200D	201B	202S	203J	204T	205X	206a	207C	208G	209U
	210N	211U	212c		213E	214S		215c	216P	217W	218a	219C	220Y						

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Debbie Treshok drives 300,000 miles a year, four cars at a time.

That's a lot of miles for a young woman. But Debbie has an advantage. The cars she drives are on the programmed road simulator at the Gulf research facility at Harmarville, Penn.

"By recording desired driving conditions on a magnetic tape, we can reproduce the conditions as often as necessary."

They're all standard cars with their driving wheels resting on aluminum rollers. By programming the rollers, Debbie can take a pair of cars on a simulated trip across the Rockies, and keep two others perpetually shuttling through rush-hour traffic.

In her control room, Debbie keeps track of road speed, oil and water temperature, engine vacuum, and other vital functions.

At the end of 50,000 miles, the cars are removed to a laboratory, where engine parts are measured for wear, and the crankcase lubricant is analyzed to find out, for instance, if a new lube oil additive is performing up to Gulf standards.

To do her job right, Debbie has had to learn to work with complex recording instruments, interpreting oscilloscope traces to make sure that the instruments are hooked up right and the test is running according to plan.

Debbie loves cars, loves her work — and the information she gathers from her 300,000 miles a year is helping keep a lot of Gulf customers' cars running economically.

Debbie Treshok. One of 57,000 Gulf people, helping supply energy for tomorrow.

Gulf

Gulf people: energy for tomorrow.

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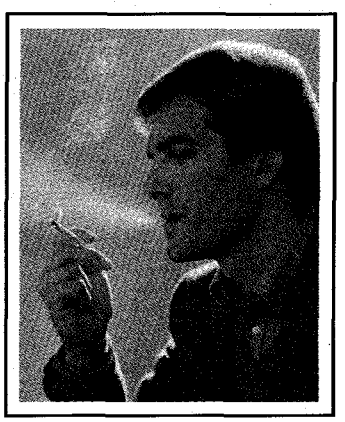
Made by actually boosting the taste you get out of smoking. Boosting taste to equal leading cigarettes having up to twice the tar.

MERIT. If you smoke for flavor, you'll know.



Nothing halfway about it.

MERIT

Kings & 100's

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Kings: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—100's Reg: 11 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine—100's Men: 9 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar.'83

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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